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EXTRACTS FROM REPORT ON ENGLISH AND VERNACULAR NEWS PAPERS

1913

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Extract from the
Report on English and
Vernacular News papers
for the year 1913

4th Jan – 12th April 1913

Pages From 1 — 197

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REPORT ON ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES EXAMINED BY THE CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION DEPARTMENT MADRAS, AND ON VERNACULAR PAPERS EXAMINED BY THE TRANSLATORS TO THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS.

No. 1 of 1913.

For the Week ending 4th January 1913.

VI. Miscellaneous.

Separate accommodation for Panchamas in railway trains.

11. The United India and Native States, for the week ending 28th December, has the following:--"Nannilam is the head-quarters of a taluk in the fertile district of Tanjore, which is a stronghold of Brahmin orthodoxy in its most repulsive aspect. Not a little of the agricultural prosperity of the purse-proud mirasidars of Nannilam as of the other taluks in the district is due to the labours of the hardy Panchama toilers. There is an association at Nannilam rejoicing under the high sounding title of the Religious and Literary Association and at a recent meeting of this association a resolution was adopted calling on the authorities to provide separate accommodation in railway trains for the Panchamas. There is no prospect whatever of their ridiculous proposal being assented to either by the Government or by the Railway companies. Nevertheless the incident is interesting as affording a valuable indication of the absurd length to which some foolish persons will proceed in their unreasoning antipathy to the progress of the unfortunate Panchamas. Educated Indians complain rightly of the inequalities of treatment

meted out to their countrymen in South Africa. But what shall we say of the ~~education~~ action of educated Indians who in an important South Indian town deliberately call on the authorities to accord to the Panchamas a treatment scarcely less objectionable than that to which Indians in South Africa are subjected. This unblushing Pharisaism is an eloquent commentary on the persistent demands now made in certain quarters for doing away with the irreducible European element in the higher ~~quarters for~~ branches of the administration of the country so necessary for the progressive administration of India".

The Delhi outrage.

13. In a leading article on this subject the Western Star, of the 31st December, observes:--"In the heat of passion and righteous indignation, we would do well not to permit ourselves to run away with the idea that this outrage is an indication that the country is permeated with the noxious virus of sedition and anarchy. If that idea is entertained anywhere, we think it ought to be eradicated by a consideration of the overwhelming evidences which have been forthcoming during the past few days from all parts of the country as regards the feeling with which the bulk of the population has received the news of the outrage...........It is well known that a great many Indians who go to Europe and America fall there under the baneful influence of the leading anarchists of the time and come back to their own country to put into effect the teachings they have imbibed during their sojourn abroad. It would, of course, be impossible to altogether prevent anarchical doctrines from thus being smuggled into this country, but everything possible ought to be done to check the inflow of pernicious ideas and teachings and once again it seems necessary to point out that it is the

clear duty of every loyal and right-minded citizen and patriot to expose sedition wherever he may chance to find it and that it will not be enough for him to abstain from doing anything disloyal himself, while passively countenancing disloyalty from fear of the consequences to himself of exposing it. It is just possible that several persons, including individuals who are not themselves seditious or disloyal, had some knowledge of the preparation of the Delhi bomb and of the object for which it had been manufactured and that they abstained, from fear or from a false sense of kindness, from divulging what they knew. If so, they will now realise how much better it would have been if they had given timely warning to the authorities".

14. Referring to the twenty-seventh session of this Congress held at Bankipore recently, the West Coast Reformer, of the 29th December, says:--"The attendance of delegates is reported to be unsatisfactory, and it appears the provincial and district Congress committees have evinced little enthusiasm in this matter. It cannot be denied that the Congress is losing the national character in its composition and the great institution needs a more comprehensive constitution if it is to be sustained with usefulness. The Muslim community has never joined the Congress in adequate numbers; the Anglo Indian and domiciled community has been inimical or indifferent towards it; a large body of old congresswallahs have deserted it after its re-constitution; and the reform and extension of the legislative councils has ~~teded~~ tended to belittle the utility of the Congress. All these factors have worked at the deterioration of the Congress into a fading annual ceremony. If the institution should

The Indian National Congress.

continue to exist, as indeed there are reasons why it should, it should be remodelled and rejuvenated in such manner as would reconcile most, if not all, of the above mentioned factors of dissolution".

The Wednesday Review, of the 1st January, observes:- "We are glad the Congress did not yield to the clamour of those who wish to do away with its constitution and allow anybody who might choose to walk in to do so, without inquiring into his political leanings. Still we cannot approve of the change adopted at the last Congress in respect of the election of delegates. Hitherto, ever since it was found necessary to draw up a constitution and a creed for the Congress, only the Congress Committees and associations affiliated to them were allowed to elect delegates from among their number. Even this amount of restriction was galling to some people who would not impose any qualifications on the delegates and would practically reduce the Congress to a nondescript body which barred its gates to none. These have been persistently crying to drop the creed and the constitution agreed to at the Allahabad Convention; so far they have not had their way. But the change now introduced evidently as a concession to their clamour is not likely to improve the personnel of the Congress, while it will detract from the responsible character of the movement. The alteration in the rules, X adopted at the last Congress, will afford a free passage to such men into the Congress, and if they are so minded, they may by a vociferous majority do away with the constitution altogether, The change is surely not for the better and those who were responsible for it did not quite realise what they were about".

X ...its the election delegates by public ...ings convened under the auspices ... the Congress Committee ------ ... true that a delegate has to sign ... declaration before he is admitted into the Congress. ...t we know scores of ...en who will be ready to sign the declaration and who will not hesitate to kick at it afterwards if they had the opportunity. The alteration in the rules.

In commenting on the speech of the Chairman of the Reception Committee at the recent Congress session, the Muhammadan, of the 2nd January, remarks:-"The key-note of the Hon'ble Mr. Haque's speech was the Hindu Moslem unity.........The rivalries and the jealousies of the past must be buried in the thought and wish for the common good of all. By united endeavour our common destinies should be realised. United we shall be strong, divided we shall fall. What though there be a thousand bitter memories of the past? Let the Hindu and the Moslem bury the hatchet and move onwards, hand in hand, towards a fuller freer life........In burning protest the Hon'ble Mr. Haque spoke of Italy's brigandage in Tripoli and of the unholy conspiracy of the Balkans to drive the Moslem out of Europe. The Balkan war is a war to turn the Moslem out of Europe--a war between the European and the Asistic--a war between the Cross and the Crescent--to be sure. We shall vindicate our dignity in South African Colonies, declares Mr. Haque. Surely we must. That was a fine picture which Mr. Haque drew of India to be, while he discoursed on Provincial autonomy".

17. Indians in South Africa.

Referring to the disabilities of the South African Indians, the Desamata, of the 25th December, remarks that unless the Indians also become self-interested and begin to work with self-respect, foreigners will not have any respect for them. There is no use praying to the European residents of South Africa. The British rulers cannot help us in the matter. The Indians must memorialise Government requesting them to prohibit Indians going to South Africa and represent that it is not proper on their part to help the colonists in their endeavours to do evil to the South African Indians.

20. The Vijaya Vikatan and Vikataratnam, of the 18th and 20th December, respectively, publish articles on this subject written in the same strain as that adopted in the article of the Indian Patriot referred to in paragraph 36, page 1885 of this report.

Racial distinction in the treatment of convicts in jail.

28. In an article on this subject, the Swadesamitran, of the 26th December, writes:- The Members of this office are mostly retired Anglo-Indians. This office was created to advise the Secretary of State for India on Indian affairs, as he has no direct experience of Indian administration. But as this Secretary is not bound to act according to the counsel of these Members, he acts against their advice very often and at times does not even consult them. It was stated that when Lord Morley was the Secretary of State for India, he never attached any weight to these Councillors. The fact is that neither the Secretary nor India is in any way benefited by these Councillors. As all the necessary information can be got by telegraphic communication between India and England, there is practically nothing on which these Members can advise the Secretary of State. And as the Government can now consult with advantage the enlarged Legislative Councils in India, the India Office is a mere superfluity. The Indian National Congress has, from the beginning, been of opinion that this office should be abolished, as it is a source of unnecessary expenditure to India, as the Indian reforms are being retarded by it and as its officers are retired Anglo-Indians who have no sympathy with the Indians. We now understand that Mr. Montagu is also of the same opinion. Sir K.G. Gupta, however, said at an entertainment given to him and Mr. Montagu at the Calcutta Club, that the Members of this office did something, however little it

The India Office in London.

might be, to shape the destinies of India. It is not necessary for India to maintain an office in London at a cost of 25 lakhs of rupees for doing this something. India will in no way be a loser by the absence of such an office. The larger the share acquired by the Indians in the Government of their country, the less necessary will become the services of this office. Since the Indians have now begun to be admitted to such a share, it is enough if the Parliament controls the Indian administration. Any intermediary agency offering advice or exercising control would only act as a clog and not give any help.

Since writing the above, we have received a telegraphic summary of an article in the Times on this subject, in which it is stated that the abolition of the India Office would weaken the system under which Great Britain governs India. Such a view is only in keeping with the notorious conservative traditions of this journal. But what if the system of British Government is weakened? If India is to have the right to govern herself, is it possible for the British authority to maintain its strength instead of being weakened in a way? If India or the Indian Government can be certain of being in any way benefited by the existence of the India Office, the expenditure incurred for its maintenance will be just and proper; otherwise this charge may very well be dispensed with by its abolition.

30. Referring to the Public Service Commission, the Andhra-prakasika, of the 21st December, says as follows:-

Public Service Commission.

Except in the case of one or two high appointments which the Government find themselves forced to confer on Indians, the claims of competent Indians are ordinarily overlooked by them. We are at a loss to understand the propriety of appointing Europeans on a salary of two, three or four

thousand rupees to posts for which equally competent Indians can be secured on payment of a thousand rupees. This policy has not only debarred able Indians from holding high posts in the public service, but it has also reduced India to poverty inasmuch as it has involved a great waste of public funds. It is not enough to resolve to hold the Indian Civil Service examination in England and India simultaneously. Those that come out successful in the examination in India should not be subjected to any restrictions, but should be offered high posts unconditionally.

The Kistnapatrika, of the 14th December, refers to the same subject and remarks as follows:-- It cannot but be admitted that the British rulers observe differences of race and creed in filling up vacancies in the higher grades of public service. There is no use hiding this fact. Except in the case of one or two appointments, no opportunities are given to Indians to exercise their skill and use their intelligence in the administration of their country. The Parliament have sanctioned the holding of the Civil Service examination simultaneously in India, but why do not the authorities do so? Why have they abolished the Statutory Civil Service? Although there is a despatch of the Secretary of State for India to the effect that appointments carrying more than Rs.200 in the Survey, Post and Telegraph and Educational departments should be given only to Indians, the authorities have not done so. The days have gone when it was pleaded that the Indians were incompetent to hold them. It may be asserted with emphasis that the Indians are not inferior to Europeans in intellect and executive skill. Lord Hardinge spoke about the progress made by the Native States in terms of high praise. It is Indians that have made the Native States what they are to-day. When one-third of India is now most creditably administered by the Indians, there can be nothing more ridiculous than to say that in British India

where people have made considerable progress in education and other matters, and have been trained for the past one hundred years under the care of the English, there are no competent Indians to hold higher appointments in the gift of Government.

In Japan, the ministers are paid not more than Rs.1,500 a month, whereas in India, District Collectors are paid more than Rs.2,000 each. We cannot see the justice of paying thousands to officers in a poor country like India while high officers of State in a rich country like England are satisfied with less remuneration. It may be said that in India Europeans require more money than the Indians. But the cost of the administration of the country can be considerably reduced if Indians are appointed to higher posts on a larger scale.

Cowardly attack on His Excellency the Viceroy.

31. The Mukhbir-i-Dakhan, of the 25th December, with great regret and sorrow, alludes to the very cowardly and dastardly attack made upon His Excellency the Viceroy by some badmash extremist, and observes that even during this age of royal favour and mercy, there still exists a mischievous element of extremists who have sworn to take the life of a just, enlightened, and courteous Viceroy like Lord Hardinge. This party seems not to appreciate privileges. The shock caused by this event to the Mussalman loyal subjects needs no description. In conclusion, the Mukhbir, in fully sympathising with the Viceroy, express its utter horror and indignation at this dastardly attempt.

The daily edition of the Shams-ul-Akbhar, of the 25th December writes that a meeting was held in its office on the day of the receipt of the heart-rending news of the attack on His Excellency the Viceroy and condemnation was expressed at this cruel and treacherous act. The perpetrator

of this deed seems to be a very treacherous, ungrateful, wretched and ruthless person, whom it is hoped that the Detective Police of India will track out and bring him to book. It is very regrettable that this attack has been made upon our popular and unparalleled Viceroy on the Occasion of the State entry into Delhi. The Shams, in conclusion, prays for the speedy recovery of His Excellency the Viceroy.

The daily edition of the Sahifa, of the 25th December, in recording with great regret the attack on the Viceroy made in broad daylight on the occasion of the State Entry into Delhi, writes that this is without doubt a highly condemnable deed and its perpetrator is not worthy of any pardon. The Sahifa, in expressing its great regret at the occurrence, hopes that His Excellency will soon recover. No single person has any sympathy with this limited body of the seditionists, and the loyalty of India remains unshaken. It is hoped that the higher British Officials will take precautionary measures in this matter and punish only the real culprit without involving the innocent ones in trouble.

The throwing of bomb on Lord Hardinge.

32. The Mushir-i-Dakhan, of the 26th December, writes that this sad occurrence of the throwing of a bomb at His Excellency the Viceroy has plunged the whole of India into deep sorrow. Every individual of Hyderabad began to curse the perpetrator of the deed and to pray for the recovery, good health and safety of His Excellency the Viceroy, directly they heard of the news. His Highness the Nizam, who is greatly attached to Lord Hardinge, sent messages of condolence to His Excellency the Viceroy. Every one in India is anxiously awaiting the issue of the bulletin of the Viceroy's health each moment. Thanks be to the Almighty that He has saved our popular

Viceroy, who has endeared himself to the crores of the Indian subjects by his good treatment and favours.

Sedition-mongers.

33. The Mushir-i-Dakhan, of the 26th December, in giving a list of the sedition-mongers who are undergoing, and who have undergone, punishment for their base deeds, observes that the punishment which the Government awards in the case of such deeds is too inadequate to put an entire stop to them. Therefore it is advisable that other measures should be adopted.

The administration report of the Mysore Province for the year 1911-12.

37. Referring to the administration report of the Mysore Province for the year 1911-12, the Vrittanta Patrika, of the 26th December, observes:-The Government of His Highness the Maharaja are anxious to introduce up-to-date methods of agriculture as well as to develop the industries of the province. But, so far, nothing practical has been turned out inasmuch as the time and energy of the Government have been wholly taken up by enquiries and the collection of information. Undue impatience in improving the economic position of a country is incompatible with the true well-being of the land. It is desirable in the interests of the country that its industries should develop slowly and gradually. It is a matter for congratulation that the Government have decided to effect an extension of railways in Mysore and that they are now carrying on the work of surveying, etc., preparatory to the construction of the lines. On the whole, the report shows that Mysore is advancing towards prosperity.

VI. Miscellaneous.

The bomb outrage at Delhi.

38. Referring to the throwing of a bomb on the Viceroy on the occasion of his State entry into Delhi

the Swadesamitran, of the 24th December, observes:- The whole of India and England have been thrown into consternation on hearing the news of this dastardly outrage at a time of grand rejoicing when the thoughts of all were directed towards the great ceremonial of the Empire. The sorrow felt by the Indian people at the attempted assassination of such a good-natured Viceroy as Lord Hardinge cannot be adequately described by words. It is deplorable that such a cruel accident should happen at this time when the political atmosphere in India is serene and unclouded and both the Government and the people are enthusiastically promoting the common weal of the country--a time when Lord Hardinge fully sympathises with the aspirations of the Indian public and the latter has placed entire confidence in His Excellency, when the message of hope conveyed by His Majesty the King-Emperor coupled with the grant of several boons has gladdened the hearts of the people, as heralding the advent of a new era. The unrest which existed a few years ago has now disappeared like a dream, along with the extremist party, which relied on sedition. The Government has now rallied round it all who work for the public good of the country, recognizing them as moderate politicians.

Speaking towards the close of his rule, Lord Minto said that he did not believe that anarchism had completely disappeared in India and warned us that it was lurking in some unknown corners. If the present outrage at Delhi be an act of such lurking anarchism, nothing can be more unfortunate for India. If anarchism still lurks in certain quarters, the Government and the people will make every effort to root it out. But the public feeling of devotion and loyalty to the British Government has not diminished

in the least. It has, on the other hand, shone with added lustre since the Royal visit. The culprit who attempted the life of Lord Hardinge might be arrested and convicted; but it is our belief that nowhere in India does any class exist, which supports such acts.

As Mr. Montagu once observed in the Parliament, there is no reason to indulge in exaggerated alarm or fear at such outrageous deeds. In the onrush of new forces and aspirations among the Indians, such perverse and rash acts should be rejected as fiendish. The Indian people are not given to believe that any good will come out of murderous acts and there is no ground to think that their nature has now changed, nor need we regard that the mad outrage at Delhi is indicative of any such change. Soon after his arrival in India, Lord Hardinge said that he looked to the co-operation and sympathy of the public, and the public are always prepared to extend such co-operation and sympathy in all sincerity. We hope that Lord Hardinge will soon recover from the affects of this accident, and continue to perform his exalted duties with enthusiasm.

In a leading article condemning this outrage, the Vijaya Vikatan, of the 25th December, remarks:-The Police alone and no others are responsible for all this. Would this accident have occured, had the Police taken every care on that day? The inefficiency of the Indian Police is the subject of talk in many a country, and this incident is one more instance of it. When Lord Curzon was driving speedily in a motor-car in Calcutta some years ago, somebody threw a stone at him, and we have not heard as yet of his arrest or conviction. On a subsequent occasion, when Lord Minto was proceeding in a procession through the streets of Ahmadabad, a bomb was thrown at him and it killed a servant. The Police have not detected

him either as yet. Such is the activity of the Police in India, and no wonder that bomb outragists are still roaming in the country. The Police have only learnt to concoct false cases and to prosecute certain so-called obscene books, but have not the least anxiety to find out the anarchist miscreants. Otherwise such an accident would not have be-fallen the virtuous Lord Hardinge. The existence of anarchists in India cannot by any means be denied. A certain gang of misguided scamps seems to be wandering in the country, with the daring intention of wresting from the Government what they want by throwing bombs. Their existence should no longer be tolerated and the people should also co-operate with the Police in searching them out and cutting them to pieces. It remains to be seen whether, at least in this instance, the Police will succeed in detecting the person whose dastardly act cast a gloom, in a moment, over the minds of the three hundred millions of Indians and of several Englishmen, to say nothing of ourselves.

Delhi bomb outrage.

In expressing its deep abhorrence at the Delhi bomb outrage, the Sasilekha, of the 24th December, says:--His Majesty King George V, Lord Morley, Lord Minto and Lord Hardinge have done much for India and granted boons beyond the expectations of the Indian National Congress. The wise men of India have been more than satisfied. An Indian was made a Member of the Privy Council. The Council of the Secretary of State for India and the Executive Councils of the Viceroy and the several local Governments have been extended so as to include Indian members. The Legislative Councils have been reformed and greater privileges have been granted to the representative members. The Government are doing many more things to better the condition of the Indians. It may be asserted

emphatically that there is no other Government on the face of the earth as good as the British Government. We are extremely sorry that in spite of such advantages derived from the Government, there exist anarchists who, by throwing the bomb at the Viceroy, have caused great pain not only to him but also to His Majesty the King-Emperor, and to the friends of India such as Lord Morley and Lord Minto.

Referring to the same subject, the Andhraprakasika, of the 25th December, says that it hoped that as a result of the Delhi Darbar of 1911, perfect peace would gradually be established in India and happiest relations would prevail between the rulers and the ruled. It remarks that the outrage in question has greatly marred the hope, but is gratified to learn that the injuries received by the Viceroy are not serious. It fears that the horrible crime of one miscreant is likely to bring great discredit to the whole of India, and says that the Anglo-Indians will not lose this opportunity to revile the Indians and to state that Delhi is not fit to be the capital of India. During his tours, the Viceroy took very few followers with him. Still nobody ever dared to commit such outrage against him and he returned safe. Taking all the circumstances of the case into consideration, the paper surmises that one who did not like the idea of the capital being removed to Delhi must have been at the bottom of this mischief. It prays that the authorities will bring the criminal to book and save India from all discredit. It also prays that His Excellency the Governor-General will soon be cured of his wounds and hopes that the authorities will provide for the family of the man who was killed in the accident.

The Desamata, of the 25th December, says:-Ever since the Government have begun to work for the welfare of India with an innocent mind, peace has prevailed all over the country. Those who now attempt to do such ourtageous deeds as the one in question are no better than brutes. They are the bitterest enemies of both the rulers and the ruled. Fortunately for India, His Excellency had the narrowest escape. Otherwise, the act would have reflected great discredit on the whole of India. The miscreants were, perhaps, under the impression that the procession will stop if the Viceroy is wounded. To show that the British nation will never fear such misfortunes, the Hon'ble Sir G.Fl Wilson completely carried out the programme on behalf of the Viceroy. We express our sense of abhorrence at the outrage and pray that His Excellency will soon recover from his injuries.

The Suvarnalekha, of the 31st December, characterises the news of the outrage against the Viceroy as most heart-rending, and dwells at length on the many excellent qualities of head and heart which has made his rule in India popular. It also refers with pleasure to the various reforms he has introduced in the administration of the country, and is exceedingly happy to learn that God has saved him and Lady Hardinge as if to proclaim to the world that before His strength, the vile acts of men will never avail. The paper takes this opportunity to express its deep sense of loyalty to the British throne, and to exhort the public to show their gratitude to Lord Hardinge for his many acts of kindness by praying with one voice for his speedy recovery.

Delhi bomb outrage.

A leader in the Malayala Manorama, of the 28th December expresses extreme abhorrence at the dastardly attack made

on the life of the Viceroy at Delhi and rejoices at his providential escape. After giving a detailed account of the incident and the rewards offered for the detection of the culprit the article remarks that it is gratifying to see that from every part of India all classes of people have expressed their unqualified indignation and detestation of the crime and their deep sympathy with the Viceroy who is a sincere well-wisher of India.

Writing on the same subject an article in the Lokaprakasam, of the 30th December, expresses the same sentiments and remarks that India has not had such a good Viceroy as Lord Hardinge in recent years. The article enumerates a few of the beneficent acts of his liberal administration and remarks that the transfer of the capital to Delhi has given satisfaction to the whole of India with the exception of a few people in Bengal. It also states that the transfer has not been viewed with favour by the European merchants and the Anglo-Indian papers at Calcutta. India's present period of peace and prosperity is entirely due to the beneficent policy of Lord Hardinge. The article hopes that the attempt to detect the miscreants will be successful.

The Sadhvi, of the 31st December, writes as follows:-

The Delhi outrage.

"Of all the Viceroys that India had the honour to possess, Lord Hardinge is undoubtedly the best, and yet an attempt has been made upon his life. Speculations are rife as to who should have been guilty of this despicable, infamous, dastardly and the most sinful deed. There are some Anglo-Indian papers which, in their solicitude to damn Indians in season and out of season, damn the advocates of political reform in India. But the advocates

of political reform in India are the genuine friends and well-wishers, if not champions, of such great and good men as Lord Hardinge. It is unjust, unfair, mischievous and cowardly to attribute such a foul and infernal deed to people animated by the sincere spirit of reform. Who is it then? To whom can it be traced? Let common sense give its verdict in the matter. This foul deed was committed on the auspicious occasion of the official entry into Delhi, during the time of the procession, when the heart of the whole of India beat in active sympathy with His Excellency. It is well known that Indian political reformers have no grudge whatever against Lord Hardinge. Who are those that did not like him? This question can be answered by another question and that is 'Who are those that did not like the transfer of the capital from Calcutta to Delhi?' Common sense says that we should not be unjust in suspecting people who are above suspicion. It sometimes so happens that in matters of this kind a maniac does the deed and the suspicion falls upon an unhappy, unfortunate and wrong and innocent person. Why begin to suspect people without sufficient cause?......"

Referring to the same subject the Sadhvi, of the 31st December, in its Canarese columns, recounts, with high eulogies, the important administrative changes effected during His Excellency's regime and remarks:- While those changes such as the annulment of the partition and the transfer of the seat of Government to its old historic capital, Delhi, the wholesome advice of His Excellency to the Native Rulers on the value of encouraging indigenous talent, the rise in the status of the Indian National Congress in the eyes of the authorities, are all facts known throughout the country, the vast mass of other other equally valuable administrative reforms silently carried out of late remains yet unknown to the masses and would fill a whole volume. Our abhorrence of this dastardly attempt on the life of so popular a Viceroy

therefore cannot be too strongly expressed. It is doubtful whether after all the miscreant is an Indian or somebody else. There are strong suspicions that he belongs to the party which raised the huge outcry against the transfer of the capital to Delhi.

Referring to the same subject the Vokkaligara Patrika, of the 1st January, observes:--The news of this outrage on so kind and popular a Viceroy has produced the most intense pain, consternation and shame in the minds of all Indians. It is obviously the work of some diabolical fanatic. Some of our contemporaries have surmised that it is possibly the mischief of those who agitated against the transfer of the capital to Delhi. It is not for us now to say what the truth might be. We only express our deep sense of indignation at this wicked outrage. We must not fail to mention here the extraordinary courage and presence of mind displayed by His Excellency. It is this admirable trait in the British character that has made them what they are. Even more praiseworthy are the words of His Excellency which went to assure us that his affection and policy towards India will remain unchanged by this incident and we must remember that these words were said when His Excellency was suffering from the intense pain of the wounds caused by the bomb. This noble spirit of forgiveness cannot but make the miscreant himself writhe with shame.

Referring to the same subject the Mysore Star, of the 30th December, remarks:--The more we consider the beneficent measures of reform introduced by His Excellency, the more we think about his liberal heart and immense popularity, the more clearly do we see the suicidal effects of this

wicked deed on the entire nation. The stain that is thus caused on Indian character is ineffaceable and the only consolation we can have is that our Rulers are more or less convinced already that such traitorous designs as these are quite alien to the Indian mind as a rule, and we feel sure that neither Lord Hardinge nor any other responsible authorities will allow this wicked act to shake their confidence in the loyalty of the people as a whole or deviate from their present noble policy of working for the good of this country. The facts that no attempt was made on His Excellency's life in all his recent tour through Northern India and that the miscreant was awaiting this unique occasion of State entry and that he perpetrated the crime in open day-light have given rise to numerous conjectures prominent among which is that associated with the party which strongly agitated against the transfer of the capital to Delhi. Seeing that their agitation in newspapers, public meetings and even in the Parliament was all of no avail and that as the words which fell from His Majesty's own lips were irrevocable for all time, it is conjectured that these agitators were driven to extreme despair and that this dastardly act was done at the instigation of these. It behoves the authorities to strike terror into the hearts of the people by resorting to some obsolete form of punishment such as causing the culprit to be trampled to death by an elephant or to be ground down between two millstones. One important lesson to be derived from this incident is the gross futility of outrages of this kind. The regard for order and discipline in the British is so great that it was beyond even this fiend who threw the bomb to upset the programme of the day. The whole ceremony was gone through just as if nothing had happened. It behoves us

us all Indians, therefore, to realise the glorious strength of the British rule, the blessings of peace and prosperity which it has brought to this country and the duty that devolves on all true well-wishers of the country to help the authorities to detect the culprits.

The Vrittanta Patrika, of the 2nd January, also in a leading article condemning the outrage, expresses its gratitude for Their Excellencies' narrow escape from danger to life and concludes with a prayer for His Excellency's speedy recovery.

The outrageous assault on the Viceroy and the Public Service Commission.

39. Writing under this heading the Tamilian, of the 1st January, expresses its detestation of this cruel act and proceeds to observe as follows:--It is the virtuous qualities of Lord and Lady Hardinge that saved their lives at this critical moment. We do not think that any person of the poor or depressed class would be guilty of such a treacherous act as this. It can only be regarded as an act secretly planned and executed by the jealous aristocrats and officials or such other people who are ambitious to seize the British Government. Such ungrateful people are only in a minority in this country and the Public Service Commission would do well to abstain entirely from considering their claims for simultaneous Civil Service examinations. The higher appointments held at present by the European members of the Civil Service should not at all be conferred on the Indians till the latter completely assimilate the superior European culture which knows no distinctions of caste or colour. Otherwise, the poor working men in this country would be subjected to oppression and be a source of considerable anxiety and trouble to Government. If our benign rulers will stop

the appointment of Commissions like this, curtail the vain expenditure of money on the construction and repair of roads and public buildings, and utilize the savings in preserving the peace of the country by stationing European regiments in all the important places and at the same time carry on the Government by appointing European civil officers to judicial functions and European military officers to exercise executive authority, the seditionists will be stamped out and the law- abiding people will be free from trouble. Those who now clamour for high appointments in the Civil Service represent only a few castes and their interests are not identical with those of the people at large. If the Government yields to their interested cry and grants them any concessions, it will only be encouraging them to aspire for still higher things, and seeing that they are thus favoured, they will surely try to acquire even swaraj by resorting to the bomb and the gun. Such men do not deserve the benevolent British rule, but should be put down with a despotic hand. If they want to share all the benefits of the benevolent British rule, they should outgrow the invidious distinctions of caste. Until this caste disappears, only a few will prosper in this country and the sixty millions of depressed humanity will be under perpetual oppression. We, therefore, hope that the just and benign Government will consider these circumstances and direct the Public Service Commission not to proceed with its enquiry until the people of this country arrest and hand over the seditionists who attempted to assassinate the Viceroy.

A suggestion in connection with the Delhi outrage.

40. Referring to the large rewards that have been offered by private individuals for the detection of the culprit who perpetrated the Delhi outrage, the Swadesamitran, of the

28th December, suggests that the large balance of money which would remain after paying the reward offered for the information, should be utilized in constructing a permanent memorial in the shape of a monument in the place where Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Hardinge were providentially saved.

41. In an article under this heading, the Swadesamitran, of the 27th December, observes:-Speaking recently

Officials and patriotism.

at the Calcutta Club, Sir K.G. Gupta said that the Government officials need not necessarily be unpatriotic and that the forty years of his own official service had not in any way diminished his patriotism. We do not know what his attitude was in his earlier age; but we are glad that, since his retirement from the Civil Service and elevation to the India Office, he is sincerely patriotic in his utterances. Official service and patriotism are indeed not mutually incompatible. The Indian High Court Judges, Council Members and District Collectors and Judges in Southern India cannot be said to be unpatriotic. We, however, regret that many of their subordinate officials are wanting in that noble spirit. Most of them behave like foreigners, look upon the people with contempt and are without any interest in their welfare. These officials live isolated lives for the most part, their familiarity with the general public being limited to the extent necessary for the transaction of their business. They think it derogatory to their self-respect to mix with the people freely. It may be said that their European superiors are very often responsible for their adopting such an attitude. It is a fact that certain English officials do tease and block the future prospects of their Indian subordinates who have patriotic feelings. We need not quote instances.

But there are several matters, such as social reform, industrial improvement and the promotion of union among the people, which do not attract the notice of their English superiors and in which the Indians may render some patriotic service. It is an old custom that officials should not mix with the people and only shows the pride and ignorance of those who adopt it. The origin of this custom lies in the old foolish idea that the officials from the police constable upwards are superior to the agriculturist and the merchant. In fact, these officials are the servants of the people and are appointed for their benefit. They must realise that their salaries are paid for by the people, that after their retirement from public service, they cannot do without the help of the people and that therefore they are also bound to work for the common good of the country.

The Congress Session at Bankipore.

42. The Swadesamitran, of the 27th December, writes:--We learn that this year's Congress at Bankipore was a spiritless and tame affair and that the attendance was small, the number of delegates being not more than 300. Various causes contributed to this result. In the first place, the accident that befell our popular and beloved Viceroy has itself shorn the occasion of much of its enthusiasm. The Council elections in the various provinces and the enquiry of the Public Service Commission in Madras have prevented the Congressmen in those parts of the Country from attending the Congress in large numbers. Moreover the election of Mr. Mudholkar as President of the Congress was not liked by many in Bengal and Behar. But the real leaders of the people and the veterans of the Congress attended it, and, with their help, its proceedings are sure to be conducted satisfactorily.

That the Congress should now cease to evoke that interest and enthusiasm which characterized it during the earlier years of its existence is not inexplicable. Much of the work which the Congress had set before it is now being done in the reformed Legislative Councils by the Congress leaders themselves. It is a fact that the reformation of the Legislative Councils has necessitated a change in the scope and objects of the Congress. We would, in this connection, suggest the amalgamation of the political Congress and the Industrial Conference, the combined body addressing itself to the discussion of such subjects as provincial autonomy, educational improvement, technical education and sanitation. The administrative and legislative questions which have to be considered from time to time may be left for disposal in the Legislative Councils. The amalgamated assembly will then have time to devote more attention to industrial education and development. And as the Muhammadans have now begun to join the Congress in large numbers, they may co-operate with the Hindus in tackling the problems affecting the future prosperity and greatness of India.

The Indian National Congress and the Public Services.

43. In an article supporting the resolution of the Congress on the Public Services, the Swadesamitran, of the 31st December, remarks as follows:-What justification is there for the Colonials to seek appointments in India, while they obstinately protest against the Indians setting foot in the Colonies? Though the Colonies and India claim alike to be dominions of the British Empire, the inhabitants of the Colonies alone enjoy all the rights and privileges in India, while they are totally denied to the Indians in the Colonies. This is extfemely unjust. The Government is only adding insult to injury by granting every kind of privilege to foreigners in our land while depriving us of the same in foreign dominions.

44. Referring to the last session of the Indian National Congress, the Sadhvi, of the 31st December, observes:--

The Indian National Congress.

"The Congress this year is one of the most difficult and at the same time the most successful in its annals. The work before this year's Congress has made it most difficult on account of the latest bomb outrage in Delhi against the life of one of our best Viceroys. The address of the president breathes a spirit of loyalty to the empire. It is full of hope--a well-founded hope--for the future. The interest evinced by His Excellency the Viceroy in the movement, the great harmony that is growing up between the Hindus and Muhammadans and the visible unity of purpose: all these make us believe that this year's Congress is the most successful one.

"Mr. Mudholkar is an eminent writer. His interest in the study of industrial and economic questions is even more pronounced than in politics. His great zeal in technical study and training was seen clearly from the practical observations he made at the Imperial Legislative Council in regard to the establishment of a Polytechnic College. Through his exertions and indefatigable energy, a technical school was brought into existence at Amraoti and a number of flourishing factories and trading companies owe their existence to him. He has been, besides, the moving spirit of the Industrial Conference, which now forms a part of the Congress. For over 30 years, Mr. Mudholkar has been well known on the Congress platform for his close study of public questions, for his subriety of judgment and fairness of mind. As such, his address should prove to be more interesting at the present time to all those interested in the political regeneration of India".

46. In an article under this heading the Sadhvi, of the 24th December, writes:-

Indian Students in England.

We understand that the relations between the Indian technical students in England and the English students there, are not very cordial, and that the former are looked down upon by the latter. The blame may lie with either party. It will not do if the English students should, from the pride of belonging to the ruling race, wish to lord it over the Indian students. England is the home of liberty and independence. The moment any one goes and becomes a ~~reis~~ resident of that country, he is entitled to the same rights and privileges as are enjoyed by the British people themselves. It may be that the Indian students have incurred the displeasure of their English brethren by an abuse of these newly-acquired rights. As a rule, the British are a fair-minded people, and we think that if the Indian students are not arrogant in their attitude towards the English students there will ~~no be~~ be no room for such an undesirable state of affairs. We would suggest the appointment of some competent Indians in England to teach our students there how to behave themselves towards their English brethren as well as their professors, while in that country.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING 11TH JANUARY 1913.

No. 2 of 1913.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

I. Foreign Politics.

A message from America.

1. In an article under this heading, the Indian Patriot, of the 7th January, writes:- "Much interest has been awakened in India by the announcement that America is about to grant independence to the Philippines.

The effect on Indian nerves of this announcement is thrilling. It is the herald of something that must, one day or other, be ours. We want self-government and we yearn for it. An independent Phillippines, freshly emerged from the guiding strings of the West, will send throbbing through educated India another influence equal to the influence of the defeat of Russia by Japan. The grant of self-government to India may be effected to-morrow, and yet no greater change be visible to the eye than was visible in India after the reforms. The barren beaten thoroughfare of routine work will go on. It was only the other day that the hundredth anniversary was being observed in America and England of the signing of the peace between the mother country and the rebel colony, and to-day America is leaving in the pages of history an instance of unrivalled greatness and unapproachable magnanimity. This is refreshing, after the recent severe gorings which, in the name of western civilisation, awakening oriental nations have had. Young India has the most gratifying feelings towards America. The Indian youth against whom the manufactory is banged, bolted and barred in Lanca-

shire or Manchester, finds an open door in the great republic in America, which is so soon to prove to the world that its large heart is not confined by boundaries and qualified by colour, but extend to all humanity. Here is something for the mother to learn from the child, the dashing revolution and large heart of America instead of the weary calculation and ominous forebodings with which Old England is accustomed to take steps. Not from England which acknowledges Mr. Bonar Law as leader of a great party and permits him to propose food taxes and to express willingness to take orders from Canada, and which delights in calling Lloyd George a devil because he breathes ideas that are almost revolutionary, could India expect to be treated as America treats the Phillippines. Conservative England is as further away from America as the North Pole is from the South Pole. Mr. Lloyd George can do for India what Woodrow Wilson is going to do to the Phillippines, but before men like him could think of India, the poverty and employment problems of England should have been solved.

9. In an article on this Commission, the Weekly Chronicle, for the week ending 6th January, observes:-"Who

The Public Service Commission.

were really responsible for the selection of Madras witnesses we do not know. With some exceptions the gentlemen chosen have no representative capacity. Nor have they shown themselves to possess the knowledge necessary to enable them to speak with authority on the questions referred to them. Among us it has been the fashion to regard invitation to serve on a committee or to give evidence before a body like the Public Service Commission somewhat in the light in which titles are held by those who seek them; and hence such invitations are often courted............ It is not the educated classes alone that are concerned. Ability to compose a report, or prepare a memorandum is

not the same as ability to administer the affairs of a mixed population, with due regard to the interests of each section and group. Of course the Congress has been formulating ideals, and at the session which closed at Bankipore a few days ago, resolutions were passed on the old lines. The Congress wants simultaneous examinations and sets its face against class representation. When the people of India do away with class distinctions in their present form and tone down the spirit of clannishness and exclusiveness due to caste, the resolutions of the Congress may be acted upon; and, surely, the recommendations of the present Commission will not endure for all time....... When the expression class representation is used, most people have in mind only Hindus and Muhammadans, as if the Hindus were a compact and homogeneous whole in the same sense as the Muslims are. The Hindus are not one community. That term comprehends a multitude of castes, divisions and sections some or most of which are so opposed to one another that the political tug-of-war between the Hindu and the Muslim is as nothing compared with it; and this is the point upon which stress ought to be laid. We do not know whether the members of the Public Service Commission are fully alive to this aspect of the great problem they have to consider. They will be committing a great mistake if they ignore it. Many of the Hindu sections and groups are practically mute and inarticulate, at all events they are not half so articulate as the other sections who are undoubtedly powerful and from whom a large number of witnesses are selected. But the duty of the Commission is plain and obvious; and under the circumstances some sort of nomination if for nothing else at least to redress the balance is unavoidable".

In the eights, of a series of articles on the Public Service Commission, under the heading "The Muslim League's views", the Hindu, of the 6th January, writes:--"The Royal Commission on the public services in India will begin to take evidence on Wednesday next, and it is to be hoped that despite the many shortcomings which have undoubtedly resulted, in the selection of witnesses and in the short notice given to them, Indian witnesses will realise the gravity of the national issues as to which they have been called upon to give evidence and will neither seek to temporise nor be led away by false issues or objective, nor by diving into details, fail to insist on the main principles which should govern the decisions of the Commission. If any Madras witnesses or other publicists desire to have an example for them in this respect, we would earnestly commend to their attention the memorandum which has been prepared on behalf of the All-India Muslim League by its Honarary Secretary, Mr. Syed Wazir Hasan, B.A. LL.B. With due regard to the true interests of the community which the League seeks to promote, as opposed to trivial and temporary advantages, the Council of the League have, through their Secretary, rightly accepted the only sound principles which can ever govern the questions now before the Commission consistent with the interests of the public service and the needs of national progress and self-respect of the people of India. It is gratifying to note that, in spite of all that has been done to perpetuate a conflict of interests among communities whose national progress demands their joint and sustained endeavour, the questions relating to the public services have been looked at by the League in broad spirit and with a correct concern for the ultimate

and common interests of the people............Mr. Wazir Hasan next proceeds to deal with the claims of the Muhammadans for a larger share of posts in the public services, and we are glad he makes it clear that this is not based on any special claims but only those based on merit and justice........The problem, according to him, is ~~tew-~~ two-fold, viz., the equitable division of appointments between Europeans and Indians and the removal of Mussalman grievances so that all classes may be duly represented in the public services, and all the elements of friction removed. Apart from the amalgamation of the present bifurcated Imperial and Provincial services as far as possible, the solution of the Indian Civil Service problem is the most serious and difficult, but, as the League ~~as~~ has pointed out, the difficultes are not of an insurmountable character.........The Anglo-Indian press is not very happy at the work allotted to the Royal Commission on the Civil Services in India. The Englishman sounds a note of warning ~~to the warning~~ to the Anglo-Indian community to bestir itself. In an article extracted elsewhere, the Pioneer makes some not very ~~compli~~ complimentary remarks regarding the members and their work. Our contemporary affects to believe that not much good would come out of the Commission, but is unable to conceal is anxiety that something tangible may after all crop up for the benefit of the people of India. The article is interesting reading as it shows the state of flux and unrest in the Anglo-Indian mind-............. The Pioneer would probably be happy if the report were relegated to the Greek Kalends. The Anglo-Indian press seems to be more alarmed than there is reason to be, ~~for~~ from all that we hear of the likely result of the Commission.

Referring to the first sitting of this Commission, and the evidence of Sir Ralph Benson, the Hindu, of the 8th January, says:--"The first witness examined to-day by

the Commission was Justice Sir Ralph Benson...........
Sir Ralph Benson is a Civilian Judge of the High Court, and has put in forty years' service in this country as a member of the Indian Civil Service. When Indian publicists are taunted, as they often are, with pitching the claims of their countrymen extravagantly high in the matter of appointments and a share in the Government, it is permissible to draw attention to the attitude in that regard of so distinguished a representative of the Civil Service as Sir Ralph Benson............In the language of the Courts, he is a hostile witness so far as Indian claims are concerned...........We have not traversed, as it is scarcely possible to do so, over the whole even of the written evidence of Sir Ralph Benson. It must be quite clear, from what we have shown, that the first witness now before the Royal Commission, who is the Nestor of the Madras Civil Service, has entered a vigorous plea of non possumus to almost any substantial modification of the existing state of things in the matter of throwing open high civil appointments of Indians. He has also expressed himself against the separation of judicial and executive functions. As we write, we learn that the cross-examination of this witness is going on, and it is bound to be long in view to the nature of his evidence and his position. We learn that by a grave miscalculation, his cross-examination had been put down to a time limit of half an hour, but has already exceeded three hours, and the Commission has adjourned for lunch. We must urge upon the President of the Commission to allow the utmost latitude in regard to the cross-examination of the witnesses, on whichever side they may happen to give evidence..........Time limit in a matter of this sort would be tantamount to a denial of justice. Public expectation is high and unanimous that the labours of the

Commission are fraught with momentous consequences to the people of the country, and, in the words of Lord Islington, to the orderly development of its administration. A patient and exhaustive enquiry sufficient to ensure public confidence is the first step towards a realisation of its fruits".

Writing on this subject, the Indian Patriot, of the 9th January, observes:--"Sir Ralph Benson's evidence given yesterday is wholly conservative. That was to be expected. One who has been in the service for forty years and has enjoyed an uninterrupted tenure of office is not expected to have any revolutionary tendencies. He is naturally contented with everything. He does not want a change. He is not prepared to accept any......... Quite different was the evidence of Mr. Audinarayaniah. He would have simultaneous examinations both in England and in India so that natives of India might enter the service on equal terms with Englishmen. This was also a foregone conclusion. Between such views there could be no compromise. The Indian witnesses that will be examined may be relied on to give the same or similar opinions, we mean the bulk of them. The English witnesses will more or less follow their own course. The question is difficult to settle. On the one hand there is the old idea that without a minimum of Englishmen it is impossible to maintain the British Government. On the other, there is the new cry about class representation. These two things are calculated to interfere with any scheme that may be proposed........The demand for a minimum English element is itself a demand for class representation. The demand for class representation among Indians themselves makes matters worse. Can we ignore both these, and if we cannot ignore them how are we to meet them? To admit the necessity for a minimum English strength is to fix a

minimum proportion of Englishmen. Such a proportion it is impossible to fix without restricting the claim of Indians for free admission. Only one way out of the difficulty can be suggested. And that is to leave things to proceed in their natural course, and then if it is found to diminish the number of Englishmen so largely as to make up the deficiency in some manner, to lay down a rule fixing their minimum.

"The same rule will have to be pursued in the case of Indians. Those who succeed must get in, to whatever caste or creed they may belong. There will be no differentiation between class and creed, no invidious distinction based on birth. All Indians will be treated alike, the sole test of fitness being success in the competition. But here comes the cry in an open form that none but one class will get in if competition is to be the rule; and of this cry such a man as Mr. Theagaraya Chetti is the mouth-piece. Other witnesses also admit the necessity for class representation, but they stop there. They do not suggest how in actual practice the claims of class representation can be reconciled to the ends of competition ....It is implied that Englishmen are better than Indians inasmuch as they have no distinctions among themselves such as we Indians have. It is certain if we go upon this principle we can never advance. In order that those who are in a position to pass examinations may not be better than those who cannot pass them, we have to keep up the present arrangement whereby Englishmen have every advantage over us. That is what it comes to. And it is a concession which we may well hesitate to make......... Sir Ralph unconsciously admitted the weakness of a system

which makes it possible for men to be kept in the service when they have lost their vitality and vigour, when they are unfit to properly use the knowledge they possess. Mr Gokhale elicited the fact that extensions of service are granted to such men notwithstanding their failing energy. That is a fact which goes wholly against the administration. It is not a fault which can be laid at the door of the poeple themselves, if after a certain age they are unable to work as before. The system in vogue is such that very few are appointed unless they are of an age which makes it necessary for them to retire as soon as they get the highest post open to them; and being unwilling to leave office they apply for extensions which are granted. And when they remain, they exhibit the qualities of old age, and begin to fail in the performance of their duties".

The Madras Standard, of the 9th January, remarks;- "The evidence of the Hon'ble Sir Ralph Benson and the opinions elicited from him by the members of the Commission are typical of the average Anglo-Indians' view which recognises no capacity in the Indian for sharing, in any large measure, in the administration of his own country. Even in the judicial line the Indian only comes second best. What is more significant is the fact that such views are entertained by one of the oldest Civilians in this Presidency, one who, as a judge of the highest Court, has worked with Indian Judges of great repute, on the Bench. In a way it is better that the Commission has begun with the examination of men with such crystallised views, as the Indians, who will follow, will be in a position to refute them effectively.........His experience of the Covenanted Indian Civilians is hardly encouraging. And, how has he arrived at these conclusions? Are they based upon any ascertained facts, or figures to support

them? Opinions not based on solid foundation of facts may well be classified as prejudices and most of Sir Ralph's statements are certainly not based on close study. For, some fundamental misconceptions of his were brought to light by the cross-examination.......... Another notable evidence of the Anglo-Indian school is that of the Hon'ble Mr. A.G. Cardew, the Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, of which a summary is published elsewhere. He abhors, of course, the simultaneous examinations and would lower the age limit from 18 to 20. He admits that Indians will have their present chances of passing the I.C.S. completely ruined, but he is satisfied with the scope offered by the listed posts.

"It is refreshing to turn from such views to the evidence of men like Diwan Bahadur M. Audinarayaniah and Diwan Bahadur C. Kristnaswami Rao. Their opinions in most cases represent the moderate aspirations of educated Indians, tempered by a long official experience. They are perfectly right in saying that class prejudice is fast disappearing and we are glad to see that it has been made plain that the cry of class prejudice is now regarded as a discredited plea. We appeal to the Indian witnesses not to give the least scope for any wrong impression to be formed in the mind of the Commission that class-hatred prevails among us. We cannot shut our eyes to the performance of some of our own people who are going to advocate class representation in recruitment to the services....... We trust that they will rise to the unique occasion and repress petty prejudices which must damage the national cause, and postpone progress and even the partial fulfilment of our aspirations for a long period. Barring such men, among the Indian witnesses there is bound to be

a certain uniformity of opinion on large issues, although in small matters some difference might be expected".

In a further article on this subject, the Hindu, of the 9th January, writes:--"It is curious, not to say startling, that according to Sir R. Benson, advancing age should have the opposite effects on members of the Indian Provincial Service and on the European members of the Indian Civil Service in regard to the performance of judicial duties. If Sir Ralph Benson's position is a sound one, there could be no good grounds for the rule framed by the Secretary of State for India, that Judges of the High Court, whether European or Indian, should relinquish their office when they attain the age of sixty....... The extension of the period of office of Judicial officers at the discretion of the High Court and the Government is, however, a matter of doubtful expediency, and such a prospect cannot but affect the sense of self-respect and of independence of the Judicial officers. Sir Ralph Benson might have been asked whether or not the members of the Provincial Service, who are promoted to the office of District Judge, do not arrive at this goal when they are nearing the fifty-fifth year, whether such officers have not too limited a period of such office even with the discretionary extension allowed to them and whether this is a desirable and healthy state of things, either in the view of the administration of justice or in the interests of the members of the Provincial Service. In our opinion, the present position is simply a scandalous one. If a list is directed to be prepared of the number and names of the officers of the Provincial Service who have been promoted as District Judges, during the last twelve years, and their length of tenure thereof and the reasons which led to their retirement, we have no doubt our statement would be completely borne out. We are

surprised that a Judge of the experience and capacity of Sir Ralph Benson should be unable to perceive that the present position of the Provincial Judicial Service is such as to require a substantial reform in this respect..........Diwan Bahadur Audinarayaniah, who is a retired official of long experience and great ability, expressed his opinion of the necessity for simultaneous examinations in his evidence given yesterday, and he stood remarkably well the cross-examination which was aimed at shaking his position in the matter ".

In discussing still further the evidence before the Commission of the Hon'ble Mr. A.G. Cardew, Chief Secretary to Government, the Hindu, of the 10th January, observes:- "It would almost seem as if we were listening to a tale of the iniquities of the Brahman when reading Mr. Cardew's statements. We can by no means accept that the institution of simultaneous examinations would ensure a monopoly of the higher offices for Brahmans. But assuming it to be so, why should the non-Brahmans prefer the existing monopoly of the Englishman to that of the Brahman? It may be to the interest of the Englishman to accentuate this aspect of the situation and to get the best of it, on the analogy of the monkey in the fable professing to divide the cake between the two quarrelling cats. If once the monopoly of the Civil Service by the Englishman is broken in consequence of the institution of simultaneous examinations, although the Brahmans may have more immediate benefits than the less intellectual classes, there can be no doubt that the country will largely benefit in the long run by the proposed innovation. A powerful stimulus would be given to all classes in the community to avail themselves of the facilities for education and to run in the intellectual race with the Brahmans. The Brahmans are, after all, of the people of the land. Their

stake and possessions are in the country. They spend their money in it, invest their savings, retire from such high offices as they may have held and give their fellow-countrymen the benefit of their experience and knowledge acquired in the service and at the country's cost. Can these things be said of the English Civilian? Again, Mr. Cardew says:-

> "Another aspect of the same difficulty would be in the apportionment of successful candidates to provinces. If the Madras Brahman, the Bengali, and the Mahratta Brahman secured a great majority of the appointments, they would have to be employed in the Punjab and the United Provinces and the races of those provinces would object'.

"We do not know how Mr. Cardew has come to know that 'the races of those provinces would object', and for what reasons. If the people in the Madras Presidency are content to have from time to time Muhammadan gentlemen from other provinces on the Bench of their High Court it does not stand to reason that other provinces should object to men of superior capacity from Madras or other parts being employed in them. The antipathy to Brahmans is a sinister feature in the character of a certain class of Englishmen in India. It has not been and is not shared by the majority of Indian noblemen and Indian Princes, either in the past or in the present ....The bug-bear of Brahman monopoly as regards the simultaneous examination question would, we hope, not frighten the thoughtful and right-minded among Indians into surrendering a right, the value of which cannot be over-estimated.

"The Hon'ble Mr. Cardew's statements regarding the capacity of Indian District Judges were subjected to a severe and just cross-examination by Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim, and Mr. Cardew's position was rendered a reductio ad absurdum. The whole of it is worth reading. We doubt

very much whether evidence such as has been given by Sir Ralph Benson, and the Hon'ble Mr. Cardew, witnesses competent to speak on the Judicial and Executive side, respectively, would greatly help the deliberations of the Commission. They are far too determined upholders of the existing system to give evidence of much value....... As regards the statement put by Sir V. Chirol into Mr. Cardew's mouth that in practice the existence of competition at home has led to most satisfactory results, it must be pointed out that Mr. Cardew has stated in his written evidence in answer to question 24, 'experience in this Presidency of the natives of India selected by open competition in England has been, on the whole, unfavourable and there have been some distressing cases of failure'. This incident reminds us of the story of Dr. Johnson interpreting a passage in one of the poems of Dr. Goldsmith in the presence of the latter in a sense different from what he said he meant.............Sir V. Chirol further observed that western education had not produced such happy results as some of them expected and that even young Indians who went to England to be educated now-a-days did not assimilate English education sufficiently well. All this is very interesting and may be of value, if Sir V. Chirol were giving his evidence. The observations do not, however, seem to be in place in the course of cross-examining Mr. Cardew".

Simultaneous examinations for the Indian Civil Service.

12. In a leading article on this subject, the Indian Patriot, of the 7th January writes:--"The opposition to simultaneous examinations is based on grounds which are not all intelligible, and some of which, it is possible to show, are grounded on gross misapprehension. The real

objection is that, if simultaneous examinations were granted, it would be impossible to maintain a due proportion of the European element, as the inrush of Indians would be so great that there would be no means of preserving the service as a European service. That is the fundamental objection, and all other objections arise from it and are constructed upon it.........No doubt the proportion of Indians who find admission into the Civil Service will increase; but the increase will be nothing so great as to justify the sort of objection which is now urged...........So long as the objection is admitted, the way to give effect to it should be allowed. That would mean the reserving of a certain number of appointments exclusively for men of European descent, and there will thus be no equality of conditions. If Europeans are allowed to appropriate places, to which Indians by their place in the examination are entitled, there would be no equality, and there would be no justice. But if Europeans were not so allowed, there is the danger of Indians coming in excessive numbers. We see no way of reconciling the two positions of admitting Indians and at the same time refusing them admission on conditions which would imply inequality. If we neglect the objection, and admit Europeans and Indians freely according to the marks they get, and this alone will satisfy Indians, then the essential condition of a minimum European element must go. The service may then be essentially Indian or essentially European. That will depend on circumstances.

"A way out of the difficulty is not found, and possibly cannot be found. So long as the difference exists, so long as different notions are entertained in

regard to it, there must be this conflict. It is not possible to suggest a remedy, and we do not admit that a remedy is needed. All that we admit is that, if in actual practice it is found that the European element is so inadequate as to necessitate a reconsideration of the scheme, then it will be time enough to consider such a remedy. We do not anticipate anything; we refuse to anticipate anything. We think that the free admission of Indians will not lead to any untoward result. If, however, it is found that such admission is not compatible with the best interests of the empire and with the best interests of the people, we shall have to think of a remedy............It is out of the question to introduce different systems for Indians and Europeans. Such differentiation will only perpetuate the complaint now made. There is no reason why, for the same service and to perform the same duties, two different tests should be introduced, If competition is to hold the field, it must be the same for both countries. The considerations which hold competition necessary in England prevail here also. The only question is about class representation. Class representation does not now prevail; and it cannot be introduced consistently with the system. If a high standard is fixed, and if any class of people cannot claim admission on the ground of merit, it will have to be content with its position so far as the Civil Service is concerned. In other services, those who satisfy a minimum qualification may be admitted, the minimum being prescribed with a view to the nature of the duties that will have to be performed. It is impossible to admit anybody merely because he is of his class. Such a principle is not acknowledged anywhere. The standard of the service cannot be lowered to meet the claims of classes".

VI. Miscellaneous

14. The Malabar Herald, for the week ending 4th January, writes as follows:--"It is, indeed, extremely disappointing that the perpetrator or perpetrators of the Delhi outrage have not yet been traced in spite of the earnest and strenuous efforts that are being made by the police. If we remember aright, this is the only crime of its nature, arising out of the seditious propaganda started soon after the partition of Bengal, that has been taxing the resources of the police in their attempts to detect it. Now that liberal rewards, as will be seen from an advertisement appearing elsewhere in this issue, are being offered both by the Government and the people, let us hope that sufficient information will be forthcoming leading to the detection of this dastardly and revolting crime which was received with profound regret, indignation and abhorrence throughout India. The Universal sympathy which the commission of this outrage has evoked among the Indian subjects of His Imperial Majesty, irrespective of caste, creed or colour, is an unmistakable proof of the benevolence and righteousness of British rule in India, which cannot be misinterpreted by the cowardly act of a stray anarchist, who cannot, to the best of our belief, belong to any organized society, as none can exist under the present condition in India, since it is one of perfect contentment and happiness to its people".

The Delhi outrage.

15. The Weekly Chronicle, for the week ending 5th January, writes:--"Even the most enthusiastic Congressman must admit that the session that closed at Bankipore the other day was not a success. The Beharees did all that they could to make the gatherings as representative as possible. Of all the provinces of India Behar has been

The Indian National Congress.

most fortunate in uniting all classes in carrying on public movements. Hindus and Muhammadans know hardly any difference; and yet the Bankipore Congress could not compare with its predecessors in anything that makes a Congress important............It has been argued in some quarters that the poor attendance and the diminished importance of the Congress were due to the rigidity of the present constitution. Much ridicule has been poured on the Convention which framed the present rules. We are of those who hold that if nothing had been done to settle the constitution after what took place at Surat, the Congress itself might have ceased to exist, or that if no rules had been framed many more enthusiasts from Bengal, Nagpur and Poona might have attended without making the Congress any more national than it is to-day. It is not the present constitution that has deprived it of part at least of its attractiveness and influence. It is well to confess that Lord Morley's reforms have slightly shifted the political centre of gravity, that the major portion of the work the Congress was wont to do in the past is now done in the Legislative Councils and that under the changed conditions local provincial organisations have had thrown upon them far greater responsibilities and more onerous duties.

Writing on this subject the Western Star, of the 7th January, says:- "The Bankipore Session of the Indian National Congress cannot be said to have proved a very enthusiastic gathering of the clans..........Everything goes to show that, as a national political institution, the Congress has ceased to be the unifying power and influence which it long undoubtedly was, and the reason for the change is not at all difficult to perceive. The Council reforms, for all their alleged shortcomings, have almost entirely taken the wind out of the sails of the Congress ship. Most of what the Congress clamoured for has

has been conceded, and it is now felt that, at least for a time, there is little left to clamour for. There is also a reasonable feeling that the political advancement of the country may now be best served by the people's representatives in the various Legislative Councils. This is a correct view to take, but the Congress leaders would do well to remember that there is still plenty of useful work which it is the duty of the leading national organisation to undertake...............If the Congress has been relieved to a large extent of its political burden, it should now concentrate its energies on the social, industrial and economic advancement of the country, for such advancement is quite as necessary to prosperous nationhood as political advancement. The Census of India shows only too clearly that a very large proportion of the population belong to the depressed and servile classes. For these, the gift of representative Government has no meaning whatever. In the Legislative Councils and even in lesser representation Institutions, like Local and Municipal Boards, there is at present really no representation for these classes............Surely it falls within the province of an organisation which calls itself national, to take up the cause of these millions who, submerged as they are, are the backbone of the country's prosperity--its valuable, patient, uncomplaining labour, . Most of the disabilities of these toiling and industrious millions are social, and the removal of the fetters is a task for a body like the Congress, but the task cannot be said to be discharged by simply permitting a thinly-attended Social Conference to meet once a year in a deserted Congress pavilion.........It is not suggested, of course, that the Congress should altogether drop its political character, but since its political responsibilities have shrunk greatly, by reason of the liberality of the Government, it is bound, as the national organisation, to divert its activities into

other useful channels, otherwise there will be the risk of their being frittered away in aimless dissensions such as have not been unknown even in connection with this latest session".

16. The Weekly Chronicle, for the week ending 5th January,

The Servants of India Society.

has the following:--"We have heard it said that those who have joined the Servants of India Society have taken a vow of poverty. But how many of those who could aspire to seats on the Executive Council or the High Court Bench or of those who could earn tons of money at the Bar have joined it? In the case of other educated Indians to be elected to a Legislative Council is the highest of distinctions; and we are not aware that the members of Mr. Gokhale's society have not cared for seats on the Legislative Council. Mr. Gokhale's name appeals to public imagination, and he who has chosen to join his society has certainly not made a bad choice. With Mr. Gokhale's personality in the background any one could more easily realise his legislative ambition and thereby constitute himself a sort of leader of the people. We hope that we shall hear less about the cant of vow of poverty and about sacrificing a brilliant career. What is the brilliant career sacrificed? Let us be more specific and less vague in our enthusiasm for the elevation of a friend or casteman or kinsman".

19. Referring to a recent circular issued by Messrs. Samuel

Government and Indian capital.

Montagu & Co., in which they refer to Indians hoarding their wealth, the Wednesday Review, for the week ending 8th January, observes:--"That the people of India have not developed the habit of economising money is now notorious and that considerable sums are not utilised for productive purposes may also be admitted; only some

important facts concerning the location of the wealth that may be hoarded are ignored. If it is said, as is generally done, that the people of India as a whole are accumulating the precious metals and are burying them underneath, that is quite untrue. As in western countries what happens in India too is that wealth is being accumulated by the rich, the ruling princes and the big land-holders and traders. What it be, as we have said, there is capital in the country which might be better utilised and the question that has to be seriously considered by the Government and the people is how to induce such capital as may be available for use to come out of the hoards and be employed in productive undertakings. We are afraid the Government have not done anything in the matter of attracting Indian capital for useful investments. They have not afforded facilities for the investment of Indian capital and though one cannot say that they have suppressed the investing habit of the people they have done nothing to spur it to action.........Whatever might have been the duty of the Government in the past, it seems to us that at least henceforth the practice of going in for sterling loans in London should be stopped, and a systematic effort must be made, first to convert the sterling loans into rupee loans, and secondly to create a sinking fund by means of which the debt can be wiped off. The Government of India must be apprised of the feeling that the people desire that they should themselves subscribe to the new loans and also hold the old loans themselves".

20. Referring to the question asked in the House of Commons recently by Mr. Teel regarding India's contribution to the British navy, the Madras Standard, of the 10th January, says:--"It may not be out of place to refer to the controversy going on in South Africa on this question. Whereas we contribute nearly 20 million sterling to the

The question of an Indian navy.

maintenance of an army mainly for the defences of the empire, South Africa does not pay even a hundredth part of the same and when the question of contribution comes up for discussions a great deal of fuss is made about it. General Botha had to resign on account of the definite attitude against all such proposals taken up by one of the Boer leaders, General Gertzog. South Africa is a self-governing colony and is one of the richest countries in the world. She can contribute, if she pleases, five to six millions to the Imperial defences, but her leaders have not yet decided whether anything should be given or whether the present policy of inactivity should be continued. This comparison or rather the contrast between the two parts of the same empire shows vividly how helpless we are in all such important questions. Others are to adjust our finances as they please and the advice of India in this matter until a few years ago was a negligible factor. It remains to be seen whether India will be asked to pay a bigger burden again for the sake of the British Empire..............We trust that Lord Hardinge will firmly resist the cry of a handful of interested enthusiasts who would miss no occasion to add to the heavy burden of this country".

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(k) General.

22. The Desabhimani, of the 14th December, comments, as follows, upon the work to be done by the present Public Service Commission:--"In a few weeks the Public Service Commission commence their sittings at Madras, and we trust our leading men will lose no time in preparing themselves to give evidence before them. It is hoped the objects of the Commission are in the main to do justice to the Indians by removing various disabilities standing in their way in entering their own public service and to reduce the ever-increasing cost of the maintenance of the various departments of the civil service, general and special, both under the Imperial and Provincial Governments. The importance of this Commission cannot, therefore, be over-estimated. If there is any field where the ambition of our best men can be satisfied to some appreciable extent, it is in that of the civil services of the country. There is practically no opening for us in trade, commerce and industry. Even if we have the will, we cannot compete here with the European traders and merchants who can command any amount of capital they like at a moment's notice, whose organising powers are wonderful and who have been far in advance of us in commercial and industrial matters by centuries of training and culture in that respect. The last Public Service Commission was appointed by the Government of Lord Dufferin with a very noble object, namely, 'to devise a scheme which may reasonably be hoped to possess the necessary elements' of finality and to do full justice to the claims of the natives of India to higher and more extensive employments in the public service'. But instead of gaining anything from the conclusions of the Commission, it may be said, it proved otherwise. A quarter of a century has passed

The Public Service Commission.

away since the report of the last Public Service Commission was published, during which period, we dare say, our people have made considerable progress in education and general knowledge. Now it is anxiously expected that those who are called on to give evidence before the Commission early equip themselves with all facts connected with the present state of public service, so as to be able not only to furnish the members of the Commission with useful and intelligent information, but also stand any sort of cross-examination, if any, from them. The immensity and the complex nature of the subjects on which evidence will be taken by the Commission is really great. A serious responsibility thus rests on the Indian shoulders now. Unless all the capable men of the country put their heads together, the cause of the Indians will never be put properly before the Commission. If the present opportunity were not to be well availed of, there will be no use of all future hopes".

The Public Service Commission.

The Andhraprakasika, of the 8th January, fears that the enquiry by the Public Service Commission may not after all turn out to be favourable to the Indians. In proof of it, the paper points out that when the representatives of the Hindu requested the Secretaries of the Commission to provide them with a list of the witnesses to be examined, they replied that no such list had been made ready and that the names of those summoned from time to time would be published. The paper is at a loss to know how the representatives of the Mail and the Times only were able to know their names. If the list has been prepared for the Mail and the Times and not for the Hindu, it is trantamount to an indication

on the part of the Committee that a difference ought to be made between the English and the Indians. Again while there are able shorthand reporters and typists in India who are men of proved merit, two shorthand writers and two typists were sent for from England at a great expense to record the evidence given before the Commission. This very unjust, says the paper, and it is likely that a Committee who have given their assent to such an arrangement will not hesitate to support strongly the contention of those who say that only Europeans should be appointed to high offices however costly this policy may be.

The Public Service Commission.

The Sadhvi, of the 7th January, writes:--"The personnel of the Public Service Commission has given rise to much dissatisfaction among a large section of educated Indians. There are three Indians on the Commission So far Mr. Gokhale is the only non-official Indian who has found a place on the Commission and it is from him that they are expecting unalloyed good. The Beharee says that it is not sure of Mr. Abdul Rahim's views or of his attitude. It is said of Mr. Chaubal that he is a member of the Bombay Council and nothing more. The pity of it is that opportunity was not given for a stronger representation of Indian non-official opinion on the Commission".

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The Delhi outrage.

26. The Desabhimani,e- of the 28th December, has the following English leader on the recent outrage at Delhi--

It is with unspeakable feelings of regret, horror and shame that we report the deplorable incident which took place on the 23rd instant at Delhi and in which His Excellency the Viceroy was injured during his State Entry

into the new capital of the Indian Empire. While the procession was advancing beyond the Clock Tower in Chandiani Chowk, a bomb was thrown from a roof, which hit and immediately killed the Jamadar seated behind the Viceregal howdah and injured His Excellency on the shoulder. We thank God that their Excellencies' lives were saved and the country rescued from a terrible calamity. We are also glad to learn that the injuries on His Excellency's person are not of a serious character and that His Excellency will soon recover his health. But at this moment the whole nation is plunged in inexpressible sorrow and shame for having in their midst one who has not scrupled to make an attempt on the sacred persons of their Excellencies or to bring a terrible disaster on the whole country, While the heart of every man here, whether high or low, rich or poor, is melting with sympathy and love for their Excellencies who have just come out of the jaws of death, as it were, the whole body of Indians are cursing the desperate wretch who raised his murderous hand against two noble beings who have done nothing but good to the Indians and whose words breathed nothing but faith, love and hope towards our countrymen. Every soul in India, however debased, shrinks from this horrible attempt with shame and indignation and the popular hatred against anarchists has become a thousand-fold stronger and more intense. Even by misdeeds already perpetrated the anarchists have estranged the feelings of the populace and made themselves objects of universal contempt. There is a soul of goodness in things evil, and this their latest act has completed their downfall and crushed their vitality for ever. Hereafter, more than at any time before, they will be regarded as the enemies of the country, and even the barest sympathy will not be shown to them for the worst

punishment the authorities may devise for their infernal deeds. Even the worst political fanatic will hereafter be ashamed to own them as one of his nest and avoid them even as he will avoid wild beasts. Thus has His Excellency Lord Hardinge done to the cause of loyal India a service as conspicuous by his sufferings on the sick-bed and the pains of a bomb-hit as by his courage and statesmanship. We do not think that His Excellency will attach to this incident more than the importance it deserves. In his nobility of heart with which he has impressed the Indian nation during the last two years, he will not be disposed to think disparagingly of the Indians who are nothing if they are not loyal, or to punish the entire nation for the misdeeds of a set of desperate men who are dreaded by the people more than by anybody else. We are also sure that this will not deter His Excellency from pushing forward to their legitimate goal the many progressive schemes he has set his hands to. In the meantime it is the duty of every true citizen of India to pray for the speedy recovery of His Excellency and to do all that lies in his power to root out even the least trace of anarchy from this land of loyalty and devotion to the throne.

The Vijayavikatan, of the 28th December, makes the following observations on the same subject:-What are we to say of the vile criminal who committed this horrible deed and thus cast a slur upon the fair name of India, which has always been known for its loyalty? We cannot conceive how he had the heart to think of wounding a Viceroy, who has been trying his best to improve the condition of the country in so many ways and mete out an impartial treatment

to the Indians and whose regime has been characterised by a genuine sympathy for the people. There is no doubt that this is the act of a fanatic. It speaks volumes of the magnanimity of Lord Hardinge to have stated, soon after he regained consciousness, that this accident would not, in any way, affect his love for India, and that the policy of his Government would not undergo any change on account of it. This is in happy contrast to the way in which Lord Elgin's Government took the cudgels against the public because two European officers were murdered in Bombay, while they were trying to enforce the plague regulations among the people. There is no trace whatever of anarchical acts in the ancient history of India, and it therefore behoves the Police to find out how this evil tendency, which is in full swing throughout the west, crept into this country. If the Police are not vigilant in this matter, it may lead to a lot of mischief in the future.

In dwelling on this subject, the Yadartavachani, of the 1st January, says:--The unfortunate accident at Delhi which the whole of India deplores, may give room to the suspicion that sedition is still lurking in India. But it should be remembered that no country is without its black sheep and that there is no connection between the fanatical acts of the latter and the country itself. The fiendish act is evidently the work of a villain, whose existence is a permanent menace to the country, and the people will not be satisfied until and unless this man and his confederates are rooted out for good.

The Mahavikatadatan, of the 4th January, comments on the Delhi outrage almost in the same strain as the Vijayavikatan, of the 28th December 1912.

Referring to the Delhi bomb outrage, the Ravi, of the 2nd January, writes as follows:--There can be no Indian who does not regret this cruel deed. Not only should all Indians condemn the wretch who threw the bomb, but they should also see that such horrible deeds are nowhere repeated. They should not rest satisfied with mere expressions of sympathy and loyalty, but should endeavour to stamp out anarchy and sedition altogether from their midst. Such is the bounden duty of each and every Indian. Indians should not unnecessarily criticise the measures of Government. Their criticisms are sometimes such as to excite the feelings of the people against their rulers. They would do well not to have recourse to such criticisms, rathers than criticise and then plead that the criticisms are reasonable and harmless. Again they should not more sympathise with those who have been imprisoned for disloyalty. May those who have the welfare of India at heart be humble and loyal in word, mind, and deed.

The Delhi outrage.

Writing on the same subject, the Akasavani, of the 3rd January, says:--For the past one year the country has been peacefully enjoying the fruits of the reforms launched by Lord Morley. But the hurling of the bomb against the Viceroy on the 23rd ultimo has caused us immense sorrow and is a great hindrance to the future progress of the country. By this outrages act of one crazy-headed fellow, all the Indians are likely to forego the many expected benefits of British rule. Such wild deeds are not in keeping with the mild nature and truth-loving disposition of the Indians, and are undoubtedly a calamity to the country. It is our duty to help Government in arresting

the miscreant and bringing him to punishment. We pray that English statesmen will not identify the culprit with the Indians as a whole and adopt a retrogade policy.

The Desabhimani, of the 28th December, says:--The whole of India were on the tiptoe of expectation with regard to the State Entry into Delhi. But the heartrending news of the Delhi outrage has suddenly struck them senseless. Their enthusiasm has become lifeless. The joy has cooled down. It has caused them great pain of mind. Lord Hardinge has granted us boons beyond the expectations of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale and Mr. Dadabhoy Naoroji. Everybody knows that ever since he landed on the Indian soil, he has been working by word, thought and deed for the progress of the country. It is he that advised His Majesty King George V to sanction an annual grant of fifty thousand rupees for purposes of education, although the Primary Education Bill was rejected. It is he that caused the ancient city of Delhi to be made the capital of the Indian Empire, and that, like a second Ripon, is fighting for the cause of the Indians.

The Desabhimani, of the 31st December says:--While the country was in an utter state of confusion under the Muhammadan rulers, the English people occupied the country and brought it peace and prosperity. For some unusual reasons, the country went through a state of unrest for some years beginning with 1902. But ever since Lord Hardinge took up the reins of Government, the country has gradually recovered its tranquility. Contentment has been restored, and high ideals have been entertained. But alas! this great man, whose mind is full of compassion and who is an embodiment of peace, is now suffering from wounds. May all the Indians pray in temples, mosques and mutts for his speedy

recovery so that he may, with his usual courage of mind, resume his duties as the Viceroy of India.

The Desamata, of the 1st January, says:--"Of the Viceroys that came after Lord Ripon, none has taken so much pains as Lord Hardinge to improve the condition of the Indians. Unrest followed the partition of Bengal. The disaffected introduced into the country the bomb of the west, which tarnished the fair name of India and impeded the progress of the people. Unless the people co-operate with Government, great will be the loss to the country. By the use of the bomb, we provoke the rulers and make them revoke the privileges that they have already granted us. No country in the world has gained any privileges by the help of the bomb. Our rulers will recognise our ability only when we are straightforward and truth-loving, when we put an end to our internal dissensions and racial hatred, and when we have self-respect and have confidence in ourselves. Only then can be expect greater privileges. Many were the acts of kindness by which Lord Hardinge endeavoured to bring about happy relations between the rulers and the ruled. Lord Morley declared the partition of Bengal as a settled fact. But Lord Hardinge had it annulled and calmed the minds of the Bengalees. He resuscitated in the minds of the people their feelings of attachment to Delhi by transferring the capital to that place. It appears that like Lord Camming, he wishes ardently for the welfare of the people in spite of the fact that he received unkindness in return for kindness. It is simply disgraceful that such a great personage has been subjected to an act of cruelty which has brought discredit on us all.

The Kistnapatrika, of the 28th December, says:--Whose heart has not been shaken and who has not shed tears when the news of the attempt on the life of Lord Hardinge, who out of his unequalled generosity has annulled the partition of Bengal, echoed throughout the length and bredth of India? By this heinous crime, the whole of the Indian sky has become overcast with clouds of sorrow. In spite of his injuries, he stated that he still had great hopes in the future of India. May this message of his, which is still ringing in our ears, restore peace in the country!

The Delhi outrage.

Referring to the recent attempt on the life of His Excellency Lord Hardinge at Delhi, the Swadeshabhimani, of the 27th December, observes:--This fiendish act could only have been perpetrated by a fanatic. His Excellency Lord Hardinge, by annulling the partition of Bengal, has not only helped the unity of the Bengali-speaking peoples, but has stamped out discontent from the land and extended a hand of sympathy to the people. From the very outset, His Excellency has been giving a great impetus to education; and it is, again, to Lord Hardinge that we owe the Commission, which has been appointed to consider the advisability of conferring the higher and the more responsible appointments in the Public Service on Indians. The ungrateful wretch, who committed such a heinous deed, when so much is being done for the people by the Government, must be a veritable fiend. Since all the political parties are fully satisfied with the sympathetic administration of His Excellency Lord Hardinge, we may be sure that the outrage was not the work of any one connected with the political parties. All Indians are thankful for His Excellency's providential escape; for it is through Lord Hardinge that the future greatness of India must be helped forward.

Referring to the same subject, the Satyadeepike, of the 1st January, observes:--There was a general apprehension that some anarchist might make an attempt on the lives of Their Imperial Majesties during their recent visit to India; but, fortunately, far from this turning out to be the case, their Majesties left these shores not only safe and sound, but well pleased with the reception accorded to them here. It is well known that it is to His Excellency Lord Hardinge that India owes the boons announced by His Imperial Majesty at Delhi. It is equally a matter of common knowledge that for several months preceding His Excellency's entry into Delhi, Lord Hardinge had been on an extended tour through the Native States in Northern India, making friends with prince and peasant alike, and everywhere anxiously inquiring about the needs and wishes of the people. It is very long indeed since we had such a sympathetic Viceroy. It appears from the English papers that all England is filled with indignation at this dastardly attempt on the Viceroy. But does not India share in this indignation? There can be no doubt that millions of the Indian subjects are sympathising with His Excellency and are gnawing their teeth in rage at the perpetrator of the fiendish deed. But is the culprit an Indian? Is the attempted assassination the work of a single fanatic, or is there a widespread conspiracy at the bottom of the crime?--these are questions that time will decide. Of late, the Govennment have been contemplating the relaxation of the repressive laws; but, if they should now begin to tighten the reins again, we should have ourselves, and not the Government, to blame. Therefore it is upon us, the subjects, that the responsibility of reclaiming the anarchists or of helping to bring them to book mainly rests.

27. With reference to the two suggestions made by Rao Bahadur R.N. Mudholkar in his presidential speech

The presidential address at the Bankipur Congress.

at the Bankipore Congress, the Swadesamitran, of the 1st January, offers the following remarks:--He urges, in his first suggestion, the election of members to represent India in the British Parliament, while in his second he advocates the appointment of Governors for the several Provinces in India, as in the case of Madras, Bombay and Bengal. Both of these suggestions are, in our opinion, unsound. There are now more than 700 members in the British Parliament. In case members are to be elected to represent India, the colonies will also have to be similarly represented. Thus there will be nearly 800 members in Parliament, of whom 10 will be representatives for India. What good can be done by these handful of members? Instead of providing the Indians with seats in the British Parliament, a common Parliament may be established for England, the colonies and India, in which India will be proportionately represented. Even then, India will not be granted all the rights enjoyed by England, nor will the Indians be permitted to alter the rights and privileges enjoyed by England and the Colonies. The first suggestion of Mr. Mudholkar is therefore futile and impracticable.

We do not think even the other suggestion advocating the replacement of the present Lieutenant Governors and Commissioners by Governors has been made after mature consideration. As it is, it is found difficult to select capable men for filling up the three Governorships now existing in India, and it will therefore be no easy task to find out five or six persons more for being appointed as Governors in India. As the British Empire covers almost the whole world, the most prominent men in England go out to the various parts of the Empire to carry on trades and

industries, and so it is only the second and third rate men that are available for being appointed as Governors in India. We, who have the advancement of India at heart, need not seek to strengthen the Government of this country by importing Englishmen. The Government of India should be conducted in India by the Indians. We do not require seats in the British Parliament. On the other hand, we should strengthen our Legislative Councils. If these councils become strong and acquire a good share in the government of the country, it matters little whether our Provinces are ruled by Governors or Lieutenant-Governors. The future development of India must, therefore, lie in the direction of the Indian Legislative Councils widening into a big Parliament and exercising all privileges and not in adopting the futile suggestions of Mr. Mudholkar.

29. The Swadesamitran, of the 6th January, says:--There is no doubt that the British Government has now begun to treat the Indians with confidence and affection. This new phase in the attitude of the Government began to appear soon after the rule of Lord Curzon came to an end. The regime of Lord Curzon gave rise to discontent and unrest in the country and the Indian people began to be actuated by new desires and aspirations. Lord Minto and Lord Morley saw the new forces at work in India and came to the conclusion that the Indian Government could no longer afford to be an autocracy and that the proper way of governing the country was to allow the popular representatives to share the responsibilities of the Government. All the time of Lord Minto was taken up in suppressing the unrest and conciliating the moderates by granting them greater privileges. The Legislative Councils were reformed, the number of elected members therein was increased and fresh

The future of India.

privileges were granted to them. The Government and the people began to evince such a mutual love and respect as was never seen before. Just at this juncture, His Majesty the King Emperor paid a visit to India and not only encouraged his Indian subjects in several ways, but also suppressed the unrest effectively by the annulment of the partition of Bengal and the Transfer of the capital of India to Delhi and by the various boons which he conferred upon the people. Lord Hardinge, who was appointed as Viceroy just before the Royal visit, had imbibed the magnanimity of King Edward and the genuine love and sympathy evinced by King George towards his subjects and was therefore more loving and kind to the Indians than any previous Viceroy. As a sign of this, he wrote to Lord Crewe that the Indians would thereafter demand greater privileges and that, when the time came for granting the same, it would be well to make the Provincial Government as autonomous as possible, without detriment to the controlling authority of the Government of India. Though Lord Crewe seemed to approve of the rationale of this view in the beginning, he changed his opinion altogether subsequently and spoke in a manner directly opposed to the view of Lord Hardinge. Nevertheless, the Indian people have only the aforesaid view of Lord Hardinge as their ideal in working for the progress of the country. They think that in view of the prosperity and greatness of India, it is necessary that India should, in course of time, attain SWARAJ on the colonial lines and that, as a first step towards this high ideal. The provinces should be gradually given a greater freedom. In giving the Provinces a greater freedom than what they have now, it will also be necessary to grant greater privileges to the representatives of the people. The Provincial Governments will not be in a position to act as they please, but will have to abide

by the opinion of the popular representatives in administering the finances and conducting the Government of their Province. The powers now enjoyed by the elected members in the Legislative Councils are not quite complete. They have no power regarding the administration of the finances. Even in the conduct of the Government, they can only offer advice and the Executive Government need not act upon it. These two shortcomings should gradually disappear and the Provincial Government should be conducted on the lines of a Parliamentary Government, subject to certain restrictions. When a Parliamentary Government is established in the provinces, the representative institutions in the districts should ~~be~~ also be strengthened. The municipalities, district boards, taluk boards and village panchayats should all be manned wholly by popular representatives and should be free of all control by executive authorities. Besides these, the District Collectors should have advisory councils, consisting partly of popular representatives and partly of members nominated by the Collectors. Thus there should be an ascending series of representative institutions, beginning with the village panchayat and ending with the Provincial Legislative Council, and the people should acquire the capacity of managing public affairs and carry on the administration of the country themselves. We do not say that this will come about within a short time. However, this cannot but happen, whether in the near or in the distant future. India cannot continue in its present condition for ever. As for the matter of that, no country can remain stagnant; it should either go back and be ruined altogether or press forward step by step and attain progress. The new spirit which has sprung up in India, as a result of the British rule, is pushing the Indians on towards the path of progress. So we can rest assured that the Indians will only go along this forward movement.

30. In an article under this heading the Sadhvi, of the 7th January, writes:--

Indian students in England.

"It appears that even under the free atmosphere of England, Indian students cannot hereafter breathe freely. According to a contemporary, the colour-prejudice is gaining hold on the minds of English students, among whom there are unfortunately symptoms of a studied insolence towards Indian students. In these days of Imperialism, when it is the hobby of everyone to sing to the glory of the Empire, it is extremely painful to note that our students who go to England to study have not a good time of it especially in the Inns of Court. A Punjabi Law student, who has lately returned to India, with a view to practise in the Punjab Chief Court, is reported to have complained of the treatment to which he was subjected by the English students, while in the dining hall of one of the Inns. It appears that a certain English student remarked quite seriously that it was better if Indians were 'chucked out' of England as they were in other countries, and that the other students who listened to this opinion enjoyed it thoroughly. This does not seem to be an exceptional incident, as similar reports are reaching India very frequently in late years. The relations between English and Indian students in England are becoming strained, and nowhere is this strained relationship more visible than in the Inns of Court. The incident, trivial as it might seem, goes to show that the colour bar is as much prevalent in England as in America, perhaps it has not yet been translated into action as to draw to itself pointed attention".

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~~1.~~ For the week ending 18th January 1913
No. 3 of 1913.

1. The West Coast Spectator, January 11th, 1913,

Sir Ralph Benson--Seniormost civilian in India--Senior Civilian Judge of the Madras High Court--A mouthpiece of the Civil Service--A sun-baked Bureaucrat'--Cross-examined by Mr. Gokhale.

Sir Ralph Benson's evidence will forcibly bring home to His Majesty's Government the fact that they have to fight against the settled prejudices and vested interests of the Civil Service before giving the people of the country a full share in the public service to which they are justly entitled. Contentment or discontent, the Civil Service must be permitted to rule the roost. The Indians may clamour for higher appointments and a reduction in the European cadre, but there is the stability of the Empire, to guard which Indians must not be allowed. We are glad that the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale tackled Sir Ralph Benson."

2. The West Coast Reformer, 12th January 1913.

On the evidence of Sir Ralph Benson and Mr. Cardew.

From a summary of his evidence, written and oral, it may be seen how fully and frankly he did his part..........The Indian Civil Service cannot indeed expect a stronger champion of its cause....... ... Mr. Cardew's evidence was on the lines of Sir Ralph Benson's but was less tactful in certain portions and had some immaterial deviations. The basis of his argument was political expediency, and he recommended all that is necessary to strengthen the European element in the administration."

3. The Muhammadan--13th January 1913.

The Muhammadan, of the 13th January, observes:--
"The distinction between the Indian Civil Service and the Provincial Service must be removed--in the interest of efficiency and justice. The invidious distinction has given rise to much racial bitterness. The spirit of comradeship will be absent as long as the distinction lasts. Merit must decide the selection into the service..........The public test of competency is certainly competition. Competition and nepotism are diametrically opposed to each other. Nepotism means deterioration--while competition brings out the best. And the best come to be pressed into service. In open competition merit is judged by an examination. The Englishman considers it impossible to maintain an essential irreducible European minimum by simultaneous examinations. Why should it be so? To hold a competitive examination simultaneously in England and in India is bare justice. Why should the Indian be condemned to servitude on the mere question of want of means to proceed to England and bear the cost of living in that country..................
The evidence of the first witness examined before the Royal Commission in Madras--we mean the evidence of Sir Ralph Benson--is extremely narrow. The narrowness of vision exhibited by Sir Ralph was unrelieved by a single broadening touch of humanity. Steeped in the traditions and the prejudices of the service in which he has toiled for forty long years, he is the type of a red-hot Civilian. Sir Ralph would have none of simultaneous examination. His confidence in the special efficiency of the European Civil Servant is masterful. He wants no change--he would like to perpetuate the ascendancy of 'the governing caste in

India'. As might be expected he was roughly handled by the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale who exposed the hollowness of the position taken by the aged Knight.......... It is but pure justice that Indians should be given facilities to enter the Civil Service. Whatever may be the dictates of diplomacy or political exigency, the ends of justice should not be sacrificed All that the Indians now seek is to remove the barriers that obstruct their march of progress. A desire to compete is a healthy sign of life. And the wish of a people for a hearty participation in the management of the affairs of their own country is as legitimate as it is honourable."

The Muhammadan--16th January 1913.

Evidence of Muhammad Aziz-uddin Sahib, Collector of South Arcot and Mr. Yakub Hasan, Secretary of the Madras Muslim League.

The former condemns the present system of open competitive examinations. Advocates selection by the Secretary of State in consultation with the Universities and respectable families in England and then admission to competitive examination--pleads for a larger share in the administration to Indians. The editor finds fault with Mr. Azizuddin for not mentioning the proportion of the Muhammadans in the public Service, and how they should act a greater share of it than at present. Mr. Yakub Hasan expressed the Muslim League's dissatisfaction with recruitment wholly by open competition; points out the lack of proper representation of all communities in the Provincial Civil Service.

Whatever may be the outcome of the Commission, we hope that our community will have a fairer representation in the Services than now, and that we would not be swept away by the numerical majority of the other classes."

The Hindu.

(a) January 14th, 1913.

Evidence of Justice/ Sundara Aiyar (questioned by ~~(~~Mr.Sly~~)~~

Refers to the fostering of race-feeling by the Government. They did not do so deliberately but ignorantly.

Evidence of Mr. Kasturi Ranga Aiyyangar. (Questioned by Sir Murray Hammick)

Mr. S. Kasturi Ranga Aiyangar expressed his belief that the European members of the Indian Civil Service as recruited under the present system are generally out of touch with the people of the country, are devoid of sympathy with their higher aspirations, have little regard for the feelings, habits and traditions of the people, consider themselves an exclusive and a privileged class, set far too great a store upon prestige attending to it and are too generously disposed to be tolerant towards the lapses from duty of those belonging to the service.

Sir Murray pointed out to communications from correspondents praising the members of Civil Service published in the Hindu. The Editor of the Hindu cites

the evidence of Mr. Aziruddin, the Muhammadan Collector of South Arcot regarding the attitude of European Civilians towards Indians in support of Mr. Kasturi Ranga Aiyyangar's opinion; and pointed out that the opinion of the editor need not necessarily conform to that of his correspondents.

(b) 15th January 1913.

Evidence of Dewan Bahadur P. Rajagopalachari, Dewan of Travancore.

The evidence of this witness was equally emphatic and valuable on the necessity of the separation of executive and judicial functions, and the recruitment of the judiciary from the members of the legal profession.

Evidence of Hon'ble Mr. Horne and Mr. Paddison.

The former--not in favour of the employment of Indians in high offices on a larger scale. The latter--Indians in Civil Service inferior to Europeans.

As indicated by Mr. Ramsay Macdonald in his remarks, the European witnesses examined by the Commission so far have practically made a dead set against the capacity of Indian officers whether belonging to the Indian Civil or Provincial Service. The opinion of the European witnesses must be taken to be in accordance with their convictions and their sense of justice, but it has come upon the general public as a revelation. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald may well feel entitled, as he has done, to ask for some cogent evidence on the point.

(c) The Hindu, 16th January 1913.

The evidence of Mr. B.N. Sarma.

Mr. B.N. Sarma's evidence is of much value on all the important subjects which the Commission has to consider. He is a man of culture and experience in public life and has had varied opportunities of studying Indian public questions...............It seems to us that Mr. Sarma's statement is a pretty comprehensive indictment of the recruits to the Civil Service under the present system, and it has apparently not been seriously challenged by the members of the Commission except by a general question of Lord Ronaldshay."

(d) 18th January 1913.

In referring, generally, to the evidence, written and oral, given before the Commission, the Hindu, of the 18th January, sums up the enquiries in Madras, with the following:--"A sure sign of the deep impression which the evidence in favour of the popular demands has created in the public mind, is to be found in the alarmist attitude adopted by a section of the Anglo-Indian press in consequence of it............... It is not the hysterical attitude of Anglo Indian papers that the Commission has to look to in framing its report, and the Government in framing its further action upon it, but it is to the state of things in the country, the legitimate expectations of the people and the exigencies of the case. It is said that the Members of the Commission have taken sides. This was,

perhaps, inevitable when some of them have previously formed fixed opinions and hold places on the Commission as representatives of particular classes of opinions. It is a matter, however, of profound satisfaction that the President of the Commission is a man of a cultured, open and liberal mind. He showed a cool and balanced judgment during the examination of the witnesses, and his bearing and manner throughout the proceedings were all that could be desired. It is somewhat of a pity and a misfortune that the European witnesses before the Commission did not show a more indulgent consideration than in their evidence they showed, towards Indian aspirations on the subjects before the Commission. In that respect, the attitude of the present-day Englishman in India cannot fail to compare unfavourably in the minds of the general public with that which used to characterise the Englishman of a by-gone age. We cannot but think that the liberal sympathies and far-sighted wisdom which used to animate the words and actions of the English administrator in the last century are very much a lost possession for the people of the country in these days."

5. Madras Standard.

(a) 14th January 1913.

"Fifteen Indian witnesses have now been examined and it is gratifying to note the absence of difference of opinion in their evidence on fundamental questions. With slight qualifications, all are in favour of simultaneous examinations in India and England, and those who have given their opinion on the separation of the judicial and executive functions, are for the

view taken up by the Congress. Although it is with painful surprise that we find that some are in favour of fixing the irreducible minimum of Europeans in the sergice yet it is really some gratification that their proportion should have been suggested at only 33 per cent. As regards the Judicial department most are for local recruitment by nomination mixed with competition and those who think that certain number of the Covenanted Civilians might be taken into this branch of the service are emphatic that they should have their training commencing at the grade of the Munsif. As regards the Provincial Civil Service, competition is advocated for recruitmant by almost all the witnesses and some of them, however, are for nomination also in order to give fair representation to the classes, ignoring the fact that the door is opened to inefficiency............
If we examine and analyse the evidence of the witnesses we find that in regard to details only there are four divisions and the following persons can be taken to represent those schools.

Evidence of Diwan P. Rajagopalachariar:-

It is really gratifying to find a Statutory Civilian like Diwan P. Rajagopalachariar voicing the opinion of the educated non-official community. He thinks that without simultaneous examinations, there can be no 'solution having any finality so far as the claims of the natives of India are concerned'. He is not for nomination of any kind with regard to the Indian Civil Service..........There is no

difference of opinion between him and Justice Sundara Aiyar, the clearest exponent of the views of the Congress.

(b) January 17th, 1913.

The evidence of Mr. P. Theagaroya Chetty.

Against simultaneous examinations--if simultaneous examinations are conceded, there must be a definite scheme of class representation in which no community is to get more than 40 per cent of the vacancies. If suitable candidates are not forthcoming from any caste then the vacancy may be filled up the next year, or failing which it may be given to the member of any other caste.

6. Indian Patriot.

(a) 15th January 1913,

Regarding British Civil Servants, the statement made by Mr. Kasturi Ranga Aiyyangar is considered by the Editor of this paper to be an exaggeration.

No European has so far advocated simultaneous examinations, and probably none will. That question will have to be decided on the merits, not on opinions alone.........As some officials have utilised the opportunity to sit before the Commission to lay bare their heart, without attempting to hide or counterfeit feelings for reasons of policy, so have also certain non-officials. If Englishmen cannot look with equanimity on an arrangement that would strike down the barrier that keeps back the educated Indian from the higher posts of Government, Indians cannot look with equanimity on any arrangement which pulls them off from positions of responsibility.

The handful of Indians who were years ago helplessly looking on the handful of Europeans filling all high posts, are no longer a handful. ~~Theei~~ Their number has increased................If the European Civilians who have damned their Indian colleagues would honestly search why they have come to entertain such an opinion, we have no doubt they will find that it comes from their frame of mind. We certainly accept the force of the argument that, living in a foreign country, exposed to a harsh climate, compelled to maintain their children in England, Europeans want more leave and more money. But we also accept the force of the argument that Indians, who have risen high enough to do the work of Europeans, are accustomed to higher standard of life. They would like to send their children to England and to travel abroad, to see the world at work and to fit themselves better to the responsible post, so that they may be as little of Indians and as much of Europeans."

(b) 16th January 1913.

<u>Evidence of Sir Arnold White, Chief Justice of Madras.</u>

Against simultaneous examinations--would involve the necessity of ensuring a minimum number of Europeans by invidious safeguards. An inconvenient number of Indians would succeed and would have to be kept out by arbitrary elemination.

(c) 18th January 1913.

The Indian Patriot, of the 18th January, says:- "The evidence gathered here is of such a conflicting nature that it will be impossible for the Commission

to reconcile the various views. There is, on the whole, a concurrence of testimony in favour of opening up more judicial appointments for natives of India. The Provincial Service cadre is found to be inadequate; Provincial Service men have generally to retire as soon as they have become District Judges, and many never get an opportunity. Those who become Collectors are better, at any rate have hitherto been better, since they were appointed while they were young in service and rose over the heads of seniors. But there is no reason to think that this will continue as senior men must have their claims recognised. And when this is done, the position of the Executive Service will be found to be much worse. We take things as they are, as we find them to be. An extended employment of men from the inferior ranks will alone widen the opportunities. The alternative suggested is simultaneous Civil Service examination. If this is introduced, the Provincial Civil Service as it exists at present must go; for there is no place for both. There cannot be admission through an examination in India, and admission as a rule by promotion from the Provincial Civil Service..............
On our present assumption, both Englishmen and Indians will come in through competition. Our only contention is that Englishmen will never be so few as to necessitate fixing a minimum proportion for them. When the time for fixing a minimum comes, the Secretary of State can do it by any means open to him. He can either dispense with the examination

in India till the European proportion is adequate or he can in other ways make up the required number of Europeans. The objection is to fixing a proportion which will have the result of keeping out deserving men for the simple reason that they are not of the European race, without adequate necessity for it. If, at some future time, the necessity is felt, it can be met in any of the ways open to the Secretary of State. In the meantime, there is no ground for recognising a principle of that kind. That is our contention. And if that is so, there is no harm in putting both together and training them both in the same way. It cannot be said that a system which produced men like Holloway and Muthuswami Aiyar will not produce their line in the future. It cannot be said that the training obtained as Munsifs and Sub-Judges has no value; for in the case of most judicial officers it is that training that makes them good Judges. And in no case can that training be dispensed with except for those who having been practising lawyers long, are raised to the Bench. In their case there is the advantage of long training in the profession; but it is doubtful whether this training is superior to the training obtained in the successive grades of judicial office."

(d) January 17th 1913.

The Western spirit and the Royal Commission.

In a leading article under this heading the Indian

Patriot, of the 17th January, writes:--"Sir C. Sankaran Nair's forcibly written opinion was evidently responsible for the rather sudden turn that the evidence before the Public Service Commission took yesterday. The clamour was for the western spirit; the anxiety was whether that spirit could be instilled by education in India, whether education in India ever really brought enlightenment or only diplomas for passing examinations from the University. Sir Sankaran Nair would permit no place in the public service to a Hindu who could not rise above his caste; no place is there for a Muhammadan who would make a close caste of his community; and the same holds good for the European who considers the Indians a subject race, who should never aspire to equality, that India should be governed only by him and in England's interest even where it involves injustice to her, and that Indians should not be allowed self-government even in towns, districts, taluks, and villages. The Commission played to this tune long before Sir Sankaran Nair was examined, It was certainly a rude awakening to the Commission that power could perhaps come to be placed in the hands of a Hindu 'of the Pundit type of mind who thinks that caste or class is a divine ordinance and all outside the pale of caste are unclean; that women are created to minister to the desires and comforts of men and should be retained therefore in the subordination which an all-knowing Providence has destined for her, who would not seriously object to British overthrow by Nepal, China or Japan.'

The Commission ~~played~~ could not but hesitate before the Muhammadan 'of the Moulvi caste of mind, who believes the Muhammadans as the chosen race must be specially looked after; that the interests of the other classes should be subordinated to their; looks down upon the rest of mankind; takes, like the Hindu, a view of womankind which justifies or excuses purdah and polygamy; would support the interests of the non-Indian Muhammadans x against those of their Christian and Hindu fellow subjects; prays for the success of the Caliph instead of, and even against, the interests of King George.' These two types of officers were created by Sir Sankaran Nair and presented to the Commission. The wrangle throughout yesterday, therefore, was about the western spirit and the capacity of the various Indian nationalities to grasp that spirit................Even Mr. Gokhale could not save the situation, but was dragged into the current, for all that he could elicit from a witness was that 'almost all' the Indians that went up to England 'may' imbibe 'western spirit,' but that 'many' in India who passed examinations 'may' not have that spirit...............We very much fear it would be difficult to avoid frequent clashes with the western spirit, and every clash carries us near the inexorable, end, namely, that we all are unanimous about the need of the western spirit, and yet we are incapable of it.

"It is time, therefore, that this mania for the western spirit is checked. It is time, at any rate, that the western spirit is properly understood, as it is in cold practice, not in high imagination........... The cry of educated India, of which the Public Service

Commission is a result, is itself a result of our clamour for the western spirit, which spirit the Government of India would not breathe and cannot lay claim to. That should be most vehemently pressed on the attention of the Royal Commissioners. And it is also very necessary that extreme thinkers check themselves a bit. Indian witnesses go up before the Royal Commission not to abuse one another, not to complain of the prejudices of one another, but to gain a common purpose. Let us not lose sight of that purpose in our eager effort to get, at its brightest and the most unsullied--it is brightest and unsullied nowhere. By all means let us be aware of the probable dangers, let us understand each other well, but let us also look at the heavy issues at stake and be politic in our bearing and expression."

Vernacular Papers.

II. Home Administration.

(k) General.

<u>Proceedings of the Public Service Commission.</u>

1. <u>Swadesamitran</u>. (a) 9th January 1913.

On the evidence of Sir Ralph Benson..This witness on the whole did not support the nomination of Indians to high appointments. Though he conceded on being questioned by Mr. Gokhale that Indians holding appointments in Indian Civil Service are as capable as Englishmen holding such appointments he is of opinion that all the Chief appointments in the Public Service should be

held only by Englishmen. Regarding the Provincial Public Service he is of opinion that the existing state of affairs is quite satisfactory..and that in course of time some appointments in the Civil Service might exclusively be set apart for Indians, and that the Indians should be satisfied with it and that it was the most suitable system as far as India was concerned.

(b) January 10th, 1913.

Evidence of Mr. Cardew.

Against the system of simultaneous examinations because it would increase the number of successful Indian candidates and shut out the English; and it would also result in the Brahmans monopolising the service to the exclusion of all other communities in India. Men of each province should be appointed in their own province.

(c) 17th January 1913.

Criticism of the views of the Pioneer and the Englishman which minimize the usefulness of the results of the Public Service commission enquiry, and cast doubts, whether the Secretary of State would accept the recommendations of the Commission. The editor then shows how it became a regular practice on the part of Europeans to oppose the grant of any new previleges to the Indians.

2. The Lokopakari. 13th January 1913.

Criticism of the views of Sir Ralph Benson and Mr. Cardew.

3. Sasilekha 10th January 1913.

The Public Service Commission.

The Sasilekha, of the 10th January, has a leader on the subject of the Royal Public Service Commission in which it points out that while examining Diwan Bahadur Audinarayanayya as a witness, Sir Murray Hammick expressed the fear that if simultaneous examinations be held both in England and India, the Brahman candidates will beat the others and the latter can have no chances at all of enjoying a proportionate share of higher appointments. It observes that all classes have equal chances of being educated and that in each class there are men who have attained eminent position by their educational qualifications. Under such circumstances the fear that the non-Brahman classes will suffer by the holding of simultaneous examinations for the Indian Civil Service is, says the paper, groundless.

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that went up to England 'may' imbine 'western spirit', ~~//////////~~ but that 'many' in India who passed examinations 'may' not have that spirit............ We very much fear it would be difficult to avoid frequent clashes with the western spirit, and every clash carries us near the inexorable end, namely, that we all are unanimous about the need of the western spirit, and yet we are incapable of it.

"It is time, therefore, that this mania for the western spirit, is checked. It is time, at any rate, that the western spirit is properly understood, as it is in cold practice, not in high imagination........... The cry of educated India, of which the Public Service Commission is a result, is itself a result of our clamour for the western spirit, which spirit the Government of India would not breathe and cannot lay claim to. That should be most vehemently pressed on the attention of the Royal Commissioners. And it is also very necessary that extreme thinkers check themselves a bit. Indian witnesses go up before the Royal Commission not to abuse one another, not to complain of the prejudices of one another, but to gain a common purpose. Let us not lose sight of that purpose in our eager effort to get, at its brightest and the most unsullied--it is brightest and unsullied nowhere. By all means let us be a aware of the probable dangers, let us understand each other well, but let us also look at the heavy issues at state and be politic in our bearing and expression".

VI. Miscellaneous.

10. In a leading article on this subject, the Western Star, of the 11th January, says:--"It has been

The Delhi outrage.

said, and not without reason, that this venom of anarchy is being insiduously brought into this country from its breeding-grounds on the Continent and in America, but it remains to be hoped that the importation has received a severe check from the remarkable outburst of national indignation aroused by the Delhi outrage. On the other hand, it is profoundly deplorable that no success has apparently yet attended the strenuous efforts of the police and the authorities generally to run down the perpetrator or perpetrators of the crime. There are many theories and many more conjectures and surmises, but to our thinking, few of them would be really helpful towards detection. We are also inclined to think that the difficulty which appears to be experienced in clearing up the mystery is an indication that the crime and the preparations made for it represent a secret that was confined to either a single individual or to a very limited number of individuals, but be this as it may, we share the universal wish that the authorities may meet with eventual success in their efforts to detect the foul crime and vindicate the cause of justice, good government, peace and humanity. There is no desire on the part of any right-minded person for low and ignoble revenge, but the desire to see crime overtaken by just retribution is natural, necessary and in avery way both laudable and defensible".

The Bonar Law and Indian Tariff Reform.

12. Referring to the controversy between Lord Crewe and Mr. Bonar Law on the effect, on India, of Tariff Reform, the Madras Standard, of the 15th January, remarks: "Mr. Bonar Law thinks that it is to the interests of India to have free trade within the empire and makes the surprising

proposition that if at all any people in India demand protection, it is against countries other than England. He calls Japan and China the deadly enemies of Indian cotton trade and comes to the conclusion that protection against these countries will be welcomed by the mill-owners of Bombay.........We have repeatedly pointed out that protectionists in India are not inclined to accept the policy of free trade within the empire. In all our important industries, the chief and our most powerful competitor is England. The policy of Mr. Bonar Law does not promise any protection against British manufacturers and except in the case of the paper industry and to some extent, sugar also, there is nothing to be gained by protective tariffs against foreign nations. Preference to our articles of food and raw products, Mr. Bonar Law promised and would have been of some benefit to us but recent events have compelled him to give up this part of his programme........We may add here that even now the demand of Great Britain to force her own fiscal policy on this country is not justifiable when the colonies are given freedom to regulate it according to their needs. The injustice will only become greater if Mr. Bonar Law's scheme should come into existence. His idea that the mill-owners of Bombay require protection against China and Japan is simply ridiculous. He is under the impression that the cotton mills of India cannot produce the fine counts of Lancashire. That we do not require protection against Asiatic countries is proved by the insignificant imports of cotton from them into India........The Tata Swadeshi Mills of Ahmedabad produce as fine mulls, we are told, as any from Manchester and in counts, where we do not require protection against English cotton goods, we are safe from the competition of the rest of the world. The history of the cotton industry of Bombay and of the excise duties proves

clearly that Manchester is the most deadly enemy of Indian cotton industries and the promises of Mr. Bonar Law do not thus afford any relief in regard to the most urgent needs of this country".

(b) Courts.

21. The Sarvajana Hitopakarini, of the 8th January, writes;--Cases of rape on native girls by Europeans are by no means rare in the Eastern part of His Majesty's Dominions.

The Arnold case.

The fact that the whites are thus degrading themselves by unlawful intercourse with low-caste women of the East has scandalized the thoughtful people of the West. But, whatever might be the justification for Mr. McMormick's act, Mr. Arnold criticised only the manner in which Mr. McMormick's trial was conducted. The mere statement of Mr. Arnold that his trial took place in Camera, we are told, defamed the Magistrate. The fact that no one was allowed into the court during the trial except the police, that Mr. Andrew had been a guest of Mr. McMormick for five days, that Mr. Andrew had a talk with Mr. Buchanam who had orginally issued a warrant against Mr. McMormick, and above all, the fact that, on the very day the trial was concluded, Mr. McMormick was invited to dinner by Mr. Andrew, whether all these facts do not go to show the intimacy that prevailed between Mr. Andrew and Mr. McMormic we leave to the reader to judge. In these circumstances, we quite fail to see how Mr. Arnold's straightforward criticism of the Magistrate's action could be construed into defamation. Under British rule, it is the privilege of all responsible newspaper-editors to subject matters of public importance to just criticism, as well as to closely

examine every action tried by the courts. We hope the Privy Council will decide Mr. Arnold's case impartially, and thereby uphold the honour of British justice in the East.

28. The Sasilekha, of the 10th January, has a leader on the subject of the Royal Public Service Commission in which it points out that while examining Diwan Bahadur Audinarayanayya as a witness, Sir Murray Hammick expressed the fear that if simultaneous examinations be held both in England and India, the Brahman candidates will beat the others and the latter can have no chances at all enjoying a proportionate share of higher appointments. It observes that all classes have equal chances of being educated and that in each class there are men who have attained eminent position by their educational qualifications. Under such circumstances the fear that the non-Brahman classes will suffer by the holding of simultaneous examinations for the Indian Civil Service is, says the paper, groundless.

The Public Service Commission.

30. The Swadesamitran, of the 14tth January, observes:- It was Lord Curzon who declared that Indians have not certain high qualities which Englishmen possess, as a result of their parentage, training and experience, and that therefore it was necessary to give such appointments as require the display of these qualities only to Englishmen. This is the opinion held by all Englishmen. Of the witnesses before the Public Service Commission, Sir Ralph Benson, Mar Cardew and Mr. Knapp based their evidence on this opinion and said that the Indians were wanting in administrative ability.

The administrative ability of Indians and Englishmen.

It is on this phea that a large number of appointments in India are given to Englishmen. We make bold to asseit that there is no foundation whatever for this view and that Indians have as much of administrative ability as Englishmen. The Evidence of Diwan Bahadur P. Rajagopalachariar and Mr. Aziz-ud-din, both of whom have been District Collectors, entirely supports our view. That the Indians have no administrative capability is a myth created by the Englishmen, to serve their own purpose and enable them to hold all the higher appointments in Public Service. As the Government is conducted entirely by Englishmen, it has naturally a better opinion of the capability of the Englishmen thana that of the Indians. If this opinion is falsified by experience, one great obstacle in the way of the Indians getting the higher appointments in the country would have been removed. If the Indian officers have not the capacity to conciliate the people by understanding their nature and realising how they would act on certain occasion,s how can the foreign Englishmen be credited with such a capacity?

31. The Desamata, of the 8th January, refers to the Midnapore bomb case and says that the Zamindar of

The Midnapore bomb case.

Nirajole has been subjected to various difficulties by the Bengal Police. Although he was acquitted by the High Court, yet his troubles would not end. He petitioned the authorities but in vain, the at last found it expedient, says the paper, to submit a declaration stating that he was guilty and that he spoke lies and requesting to be pardoned. It remarks that in the midst of arbitrary authorities, man's independence and self-respect will be of no avail.

VI. Miscellaneous.

38. A leader in the Kerala Sanchari, of the 1st January,

The Delhi outrage.

referring to the diabolical outrage on the Viceroy, remarks that if the bomb had fallen a little more forward it would have given cause for eternal grief to India; and that Indians should ever thank the merciful God for averting the cause of such a grief. The readers are informed that the Viceroy is fast improving from the effects of the wounds received and that every effort is being made to detect the perpetrators of the heinous crime. All loyal Indians should render every help to Government in their endeavour to detect the criminal or criminals. Else recurrence of such detestable crimes could not be stopped. All Indians know for certain that Lord Hardinge is their best well-wisher. Who could be the monster that had perpetrated such a horrible deed upon the noble-hearted man who has been striving by all means to do good to India? Although anarchists are now-a-days seen in all countries it cannot be supposed that in India there are many of them. Indians are peaceful and are well aware of the manifold blessings of British administration. This cruel deed might be the act of a maniac or of a thoughtless brute or of a fool who takes pleasure in witnessing the sufferings of others even when the whole world is being destroyed (?) The whole of India has condemned the outrage and expressed its detestation and horror at it. But what is more necessary than this is the taking of steps to prevent, for ever, the recurrence of such dastardly deeds in India. It is gratifying for Indians to know the announcement of the

Viceroy even while lying wounded that he would not in the least change his administrative policy on account of this outrage.

Anent the same topic a leader in the Manorama, of the 3rd January, expresses profound sorrow and horror at the horrible deed, denounces the criminal and thanks the Almighty for the providential escape of the Viceroy. The article dwells on the sympathetic and liberal administration of His Excellency, and remarks that no sane Indian could have done such an atrocious deed against the good and great man. The article is gratified to notice that the Viceroy and other British administrators do not doubt the loyalty of Indians nor suspect the implication of any sane Indian in this act of an insane being, and prays to God for a speedy and complete recovery of His Excellency.

The Delhi outrage.

Referring to the same subject a leading article in the Kerala Patrika of the 4th January, writes at length in the strongest terms condemning the outrage and remarks that the atrocious act against such a liberal-hearted, generous-natured, good and great Viceroy on the unique occasion of giving effect to the great boons that have been made to India by His Majesty the King Emperor has evoked unparalleled sorrow and consternation all over the world. The article is gratified to know that the deed is suspected by all papers to be the act of an insane being and not that of an anarchist and is thankful to God for saving Indians from a greater calamity by protecting the Viceroy from serious danger. The article also rejoices to see many Indian Princes offering rewards for the apprehension of the beastly criminal. It concludes with the hope that the people of

the Indian Empire will be profoundly touched by the assurance of His Excellency from his siak sick bed that there will be no change in his administrative policy, and that his love for Indians will not be abated notwithstanding the horrible attempt on his life.

The Delhi outrage.

The Vivaka Bodini, for January, condemns the recent outrage at Delhi, and expresses the hope that the vile culprit, who committed this dastardly crime, will soon be brought to justice.

The Travancore Abhimani, of the 9th January, also comments on this subject in the same strain.

The Delhi bomb outrage.

39. The Andhrakesary, of the 3rd January, says that Lord Hardinge has stated that the mere fact of some villains attempting to take his life by throwing a bomb at him will not change the good opinion that he entertains of India and its people. It continues as follows:- We cannot sufficiently praise the good qualities of Lord Hardinge who showed so much patience notwithstanding that he was injured. We are fortunate in having such a good and patient gentleman as our Governor-General. He is one of those who find their own happiness in the happiness of others. There can be no doubt that the people will have great affection for such a Viceroy. There is none in India who does not feel sorry for the injuries that have been inflicted on him. There have been offers of rewards from various quarters for information leading to the arrest of the bomb-thrower. This shows how much the Viceroy is loved by the people. We pray for the speedy recovery of His Excellency Lord Hardinge and hope that the miscreant

who caused him the injuries may soon be arrested and punished.

40. Referring to the last session of the Indian National Congress, the Swadeshabhimani, of the 3rd January observes:--In these days of representative Government, it is essential that Congress Committtess should be appointed in every town and village to create a well-informed, sober and vigilant public opinion. These subordinate associations, if they are to live on, require the labours of disinterested patriots. As the number of such selfless workers increases, the necessity of a National Congress will become more and more apparent.

The Indian National Congress.

Referring to the same subject, the Vrittanta Patrika, of the 9th January, observes:--Although the expansion of the Legislative Councils has afforded the popular leaders of the different provinces an opportunity of taking up questions affecting their respective parts of the country, yet we are of opinion that an All-India Congress still remains indispensable. To deal with such larger matters, as education and the creation of a homogeneous Indian nation by evoking a national interest as distinct from provincial interests, an association such as the Indian National Congress is an absolute necessity. We hope the Congress will keep this aim steadily in view, and so shape its constitution as to enable it to gain an esteemed position in Indian politics.

Referring to the last session of the Indian National Congress, the Vokkaligara Patrike, of the 15th January, writes:--We very much regret to hear that the number of delegates that attended the last session of the

The Indian National Congress.

Congress was very small, that all important questions that deserved attention were left indiscussed and that there were divided opinions on every matter that concerned the Indian community as a whole. No true Indian can help regretting that the Congress--the pillar of India's future greatness--has come to such a deplorable condition. God alone knows when that day will dawn, when all Indians will rise superior to sectarian and provincial interests, and unite and work together for the common good of the whole of India.

Referring to the same subject, the Sadhvi, of the 14th January,

The Indian National Congress.

observes:--The number of delegates that attended the congress this time was very small as compared with previous years. For this there are many reasons. For one thing, it is extremely cold at Bankipore at this time of the year, and it is probable that many people absented themselves for reasons of health. Again, there are not a few congress enthusiasts who are anxious to see certain amendments carried out in the constitution of the congress but who have had to ~~say~~ stay away, simply because of the predominance of their antagonists in the congress. Of late, some ~~of~~ have begun to doubt the very utility of the congress; but it is quite erreneous to do so. Had it not been for the unremitting efforts of the congress for the last 27 years, would the enlargement of the Legislative Councils have become possible? ~~Wouthe~~-- Would the Provincial Conferences have been established? Would the Industrial Conference have come into being?

Would the press have enjoyed even so much liberty as it does at present? Would the Government have been amenable to popular control even to the extent that is to be met with at present? Would the Muhammadans have come to realise the enormous injury that has been done to the cause of both Hindus and Muhammadans by the present estrangement between the two communities? And would Mr. Hague have delivered the statesmanlike address with which he welcomed the delegates to the congress the other day? Without such exhortations as this from the congress leaders it is very improbable that the two communities would join hands in a true brotherly spirit, even in future. It can safely be asserted that those pessimists, who fail to take all these things into consideration and say that the congress serves no useful purpose, are not worthy to be Indians. The ardent patriotism of the Hon'ble Mr. Mudholkar, his wide knowledge and experience of men and things, and his broadminded statesmanship, all these are visible in every line of his presidential speech.

The paper then goes on to contrast the condition of India before the advent of the British to this country and her present condition, and enumerates the several blessings of British rule in India. The paper then concludes as follows:--Formerly, no one could utter a word against the authorities; people met with certain death if they did so. All that has changed now. Any one can criticise even the actions of the King. In case the Government take a wrong step the people can subject their action to severe criticism without the least fear of punishment. Irresponsible methods in the conduct of Government are slowly becoming things of the past, and just Government is striking

root in the land. All these facts have been brought out clearly by the President. We cannot be sufficiently thankful to the British People for the manifold blessings they have conferred upon us.

--:O:--

REPORT ON ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES EXAMINED BY THE CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION DEPARTMENT, MADRAS, AND ON VERNACULAR PAPERS EXAMINED BY THE TRANSLATORS TO THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING 25TH JANUARY 1913.

No. 4 of 1913.

Vernacular Papers.

II. Home Administration.

(k) General.

Public Services Commission.

Swadesamitran 15th January 1913.

Evidence of Mr. W.O. Horne, and Revd. A. Andrew, a Missionary. Both of them were against simultaneous examinations--and against the main aspirations of Indians. The following lines regarding the latter deserve notice.

The Missionary gentleman also expressed the same opinion as Mr. Horne regarding the improvement of the condition of the Indians. We cannot understand the meaning of citing Christian Missionaries as witnesses regarding an important matter which concerns the everlasting welfare of India. There is no reason to believe that the Missionaries, who are mere birds of passage staying awhile in India only for the purpose of propagating their religion, will give sincere and impartial evidence about a matter which has an immediate bearing on the future prosperity of this country.

89. (B)

6. In a leading article on the question of educational facilities for the domiciled community, in which reference is made to a letter sent sometime ago from the Government of India to the Local Governments on the subject, the Madras Standard, of the 23rd January, says:--"It may not be out of place to note that when the Statutory Civil Service was in existence, the domiciled community agitated for and obtained the privilege of being eligible to that service as Natives of India' By this decision they threw in their lot with the rest of the people of India. But soon there came a change in the policy of the community, and petted by a weak Government, the idea that they have the blood of the ruling race in them, has put them on high-stilts and made them look down upon those among whom they have to live and move. Any demand for special treatment cannot but be looked upon ~~the~~ by the people of India as a distinct violation of the pledges contained in the Proclamation of 1858 which has been repeated by the two successive Sovereigns. In regard to educational facilities the domiciled community demand--(a) compulsory primary education, (b) grading of schools reserved for them alone, (c) education of women, (d) an increased number of scholarships All these demands have been put forward by people of India in general and the Government of India had to plead one excuse or other in refusing each and every one of them. In regard to the first of them we read that 'the Government of India, while quite ready to recognise in principle the desirability of introducing ~~objections to~~ compulsory education in certain areas are inclined to think that the practical objections to such action are at present no less great than they have been found to be in the case of Indian children.' The domiciled community have nothing to complain against this reply. Mr. Madge, their accredited representative in the last Imperial

The domiciled community.

Legislative Council, opposed Mr. Gokhale's Bill for compulsory education even in selected areas mainly on the score of 'practical objections' such as accommodation and the supply of teachers. We wish the Government of India had taken up the same judicial attitude in regard to the other demands; but their replies to them show that they are inclined to treat their requests more favourably than in the case of Indians in a similar situation....................It is really strange in this connection to find some of the Anglo Indian contemporaries go into hysterics at the monopolisation of certain posts by Brahmans when they themselves demand the monopolisation of some other department by another community and that not on fitness as a result of any competitive examination. Lord Hardinge could have very well in this instance re-stated his reply to the welcome address of the Bombay Branch of the Moslem League that the favouritism shown to one community is a disability imposed upon the others. We hope that when this question comes up for final solution at his hands, he will not forget the above sound and statesmanly principle."

(6)

FOR THE WEEK ENDING 25TH JANUARY 1913.

No. 4 of 1913.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

II. Home Administration.

(k) General

The Public Service Commission.

10. Referring to the proceedings of this Commission in Madras, the Western Star, of the 18th January writes:--"Changes in the administrative system of this country are, perhaps, more necessary than they were at any previous period of British Indian rule, but it is also very much more necessary that any changes now effected should be decided upon with the utmost deliberation and discrimination. On the one hand, clamour alone should not influence conviction, while, on the other hand, because of clamour, there ought to be no reluctance to recognise changes which are just and desirable. The Commission has not been sitting very long, but to judge from the proceedings which have already transpired, it is very clear that the Commissioners are entering thoroughly and spiritedly into their work, though even those who are only casually following the proceedings as reported in the press cannot fail to notice that the Commissioners, in the course of their cross-examination of witnesses, are well divided into two camps-------------The first witness examined was Sir Ralph Benson, Senior Puisne Judge of the Madras High Court and perhaps, as he himself thought,

the Father of the Indian Civil Service.........Sir Ralph Benson gave very valuable evidence, whose value is all the greater because of his ripe Indian experience and because he is known to be a genuine sympathiser with the legitimate aspirations and feelings of the people of this country.............We have no doubt, that among the Indian witnesses who will be examined throughout the country, there will be many who will disapprove of the lowering of the British element in the service. This proposal of lowering proceeds for the most part from that section of the educated community, whose political ambition is of the ~~valu-~~ vaulting type and is not tempered sufficiently by discretion ~~a~~ or by a calm consideration of the various conditions of their own country. The process of nationalisation in India is still in its very early infancy and until it has progressed much further, it would be decidedly impolitic, for the sake of the Indians themselves, to embark upon an administrative enterprise which would enfeeble the British character and tone of the administration. We bear in mind the argument that there are already districts that are run wholly and efficiently by Indian heads exclusively but we say that these are isolated instances, and that it would be very different if there were many and contiguous districts that were run exclusively by Indians, recruited in this country and lacking the training acquired by the Indian youth who has resided in England and passed into the Indian Civil Service there. Four our part, we have held and still hold that continued administrative progress and efficiency demand that there should be no further diminution in the Europan element in the Indian Civil Service............ We do not mean to say that there

should never be further concession to the Indians at any time hereafter, but we hold strongly that, for a variety of reasons including much that has occurred within the past three or four years, it is not desirable to go in at present or even in the very near future for any further contraction of the European element in that service, which has largely made India and the Indians what they are to-day and still has the most important portion of its work lying before it in a future, which Great Britain cannot too carefully or too wisely prepare for".

Writing on this subject the West Coast Reformer, of the 19th January, says:--"An interesting and momentous aspect of the variegated evidence that is collected by the Public Service Commission is the simultaneous out-burst of ideas about the representation of castes, classes and races in the machinery of Indian administration. Few are they who have the boldness to break asunder the claims of clannishness, with devoted attention to justice and efficiency. We may roughly classify the rival forces of caste, class or community as those working between the Indian and the Britisher, the Hindu and Moslem, and the Brahmin and the non.Brahmin.........We hear of '~~Lord~~ Indians swamping the serivce' if the competitive examination were held simultaneously in England and India. It is remarkable that no Indian has advanced--and none will advance--such special claims, for Indians. The Indian witnesses, however, have laid claim on equal scope for their employment; and some of them have suggested deficiencies in European members of the service. The rivalry between Hindu and Moslem has till now been insignificant though not absent, but will be more evident when the Commissioners sit in a northern city ....Amidst these rival forces it is really difficult

to cut out a smooth and safe path; and the greatest difficulty in the way of the Commission has been placed by the unrestrained play of these forces of discord and disintegration. We are afraid the Commissioners could have more profitably utilised their powers of cross-examination to expose the intrinsic weakness of this sort of rivalry between communal interests in public service........It has been pointed out by irrefutable arguments that adequate and unrestricted employment of Indians of approved merit in higher offices creates contentment and efficiency which combined assure the safety and popularity of British rule, whereas a contrary effect might result from the reverse order. The plea of political importance is quite a respectable sentiment, but the plea of natural rights on the part of Indians ought also to be respected by responsible Englishmen------------- As regards the rival forces between castes and classes in India, we may say at once their prevalence is entirely due to misapprehension, and misdirection. It is really surprising to hear some educated Indians condemning a class of Indians who have proved their intellectual superiority in an eminent degree, and hating and distrusting the predominance of that class in the public service. It is not by deprecating and destroying one class that other classes can achieve their greatness. In our opinion there is not a greater evil than the desperate class of levellers who aim at levelling down the elevated classes instead of levelling up the depressed classes. It is not envy and malice that will purify and ennoble the atmosphere. We cannot appreciate the endeavour of a certain class of people who make a cat's paw of the shortsighted individuals and profess pious solicitude for the backward classes of India against their forward brethren and neighbours".

The Madras Standard, of the 20th January, remarks:--
"It must be admitted that the evidence till now given before it has not been very encouraging of Indians. First of all we find that the European official witnesses have approached the questions in a perfectly uncompromising attitude and among the Indian witnesses, with the exception of a few leading men of this province, there has been no uniformity of views. The official witnesses mainly the European have made it plain that no greater facilities should be given to Indians in the administration of this country. On the question of simultaneous examinations, they are, all, against the aspirations of the Indians..........
It is generally taken for granted that the present-day officials are more sympathetic than their predecessors. Here are facts to prove that we were erring in our calculations. The lesson is one which we cannot afford to forget. Our salvation is in our own hands and not in that of our officials-vested interests can never be expected to surrender their privileges unless they are compelled to do it by external events. In our acquiring more education and in showing that our birth-right cannot long be kept away from us, lies the way of Indian regeneration. Among the non-official witnesses, the Europeans--only two of them were examined--have given their vote against the introduction of simultaneous examinations. Both of them are Missionaries and their opinion only shows the degree of their sympathy in regard to our most cherished aspirations..........Most of the important witnesses were for giving a training to the Civilians from England in the lowest grades of the Judicial Service before they are transferred to them. They advocate that they should begin as District Munsif and never higher than Subordinate Judges.

Of course Sir Ralph Benson cannot think of such a system of training to the members of his class, but can think of giving them good training as Assistant Judges under the kind guardianship of District Judges. We hope that this unanimous view of experienced members of the Judicial Service will be supported by the Commission when dealing with this important subject".

The South Indian Mail, for the week ending 20th January, observes:--"The superior capacity of the European Civilian officials over their Provincial Civil Service compeers also was mentioned. Comparisons are always odious and we might at once say that there are more cases of want of capacity combined with an assumed air of superiority in the former than in the latter. We should not also at the same time overlook the exceptional capacity and sympathy which has characterised some of the Civilians. While from the beginning a European Civilian thinks too much of his exceptional merits which prevents him from mingling freely with Indians and thus estranges their feelings, his provincial Civil Service compeer has got the desire to mingle more and more with the Indians, and earn their sympathy................Separation of judicial and executive functions is a matter which has formed the subject of repeated resolutions in the Indian National Congress. The evils of this system were never more fully realised than in the recent cases that arose in Bengal. The combination of both these functions also prevents the officials from possessing any exceptional qualities either in the one branch or in the other. The qualities required for performing the two functions are also not similar..........There is a distinct general impression that the men appointed to be Judges are the failures of their order and as long as there is the

slightest ground for this impression, the confidence of the people in them is gone. It should never be forgotten that the most sure element of greatness in a great race of Judges is not learning, is not knowledge, is not ability--though these are, all to the good but character and the unmistakable public confidence which character surely inspires".

The Bengal Chamber of Commerce and the Public Service Commission.

11. Referring to a letter addressed by the Committee of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce to its members, on the subject of the views of the Chamber to be placed before the Public Services Commission, the Madras Standard, of the 24th January, says:--"It is surprising to find that 'the Committee believe that the opinions expressed in the representation are still entertained as strongly by European merchants as twenty-five years ago'. Of late, the Bengal Chamber of Commerce has been much before the public-eye by its ill-timed and ill-mannered dabbling in the politics of the country. By its pronounced anti-Indian views, it more often helped to complicate situations, than relieve them to any degree...............When a large number of Indians are holding responsible Executive positions under the Government, it is absurd to repeat the remark that their existence there, is not in the interests of law and order and we do not think that a responsible public body like the Chamber of Commerce will repeat at this state of Indian development that those who will get into the Indian Civil Service as a result of simultaneous examinations are persons who are not qualified by their merit to exercise any sway on members of other communities.......... Indian witnesses have made it plain that no educated Indian

had the least intention of revolutionising the basis of the present administration of India. Again the statement that 'the proposers of these changes are mainly theorists and would-be-governors and do not, so far as we can learn, represent the people to be governed' is too absurd for any person with the least sense of responsibility. We hope that the Chamber of Commerce will not have to speak of educated Indians in the same disparaging tones before the Commission".

12. In publishing an extract from the Poineer on the behaviour of Brahmins towards non-Brahmins

Brahmins and other communities.

as elicited by Sir Valentine Chirol at the recent sittings of the Public Service Commission in Madras, the Hindu, of the 20th January, says:--"It may be observed that Sir Valentine Chirol did not give the name of the specific individuals of the strength of whose statements he based his cross-examination. In questioning Mr. Justice Sundara Aiyar, he mentioned the fact that he had the authority of a distinguished colleague of Mr. Justice Sundara Aiyar for making the statement that the Brahmins fostered distrust and jealousy between communities. Mr. Justice Sundara Aiyar gave his answer assuming that what Sir Valentine Chirol stated was correct. It must be pointed out, however, that although no less than four of Mr. Justice Sundara Aiyar's colleagues in the High Court were examined as witnesses before the Commission, viz., Sir Arnold White, Sir Ralph Benson, Sir John Wallis and Sir C. Sankaran Nair, the statement that Sir Valentine Chirol referred to as having been made regarding the Brahmins, was not elicited by him from any of these witnesses. Where from, then did Sir Valentine Chirol get his valuable information? As a Member of the Commission

it was his duty to have made this point clear. The Pioneer thinks that one non-Brahmin should have been co-opted 'if the principle of equality had been followed', in order to help the Members of the Commission in their bewilderment caused by one witness speaking in favour of a Brahmin and another to the contrary effect. If this had been done it would have forcibly illustrated the observation of Mr. Justice Sundara Aiyar that the action of Government is sometimes calculated to forster communal jeolousy and distrust".

15. The West Coast Spectator, of the 22nd January, writes:--

Native States and the Indian Civil Service.

"Diwan Bahadur Rajagopalachari's suggestion that the subjects of Native States should be admitted to the Indian Civil Service has enthusiastically been taken up by some of our contemporaries. The chief argument is that when young men from the Colonies are eligible for appointments it stands to reason that the subjects of Native States also should be permitted to compete. We are sorry we cannot agree to any such proposal as put forward by Mr. Rajagopalachari. Some of our Native States, for instance Mysore, do not permit British Indians to compete for their Civil Service examinations, and in Cochin, Travancore, Mysore, Hyderabad and everywhere we see cries against appointments being given to British Indians. Nearer home the cry Cochin for the Cochinites and Travancore for the Travancorians is as strong as ever. When they oppose the appointments of British Indians, we think we have a right to ask that subjects of Native States be excluded at least from the Civil Service. As regards the admission of Colonials, we demand that they should be excluded not only from the Civil Service but from any appointment in the Indian Empire. We are sur-

sure this question will receive great prominence in the future, and we expect to see the total exclusion of Colonials from the Indian Service. It is an insult, not to say injury, to us that these men who ill-treat our ~~contry~~ countrymen and regard them as yahoos should be allowed to have the advantage over us in our own land".

[Muhammadans & the Congress]

20. The Indian Patriot, of the 22nd January, writes:-- "The time has not yet come for a general move of the Muhammadans towards the Congress notwithstanding the fact that the principles of both the Congress and the Muslim League are the same. Individual Muhammadans however, who are members of the Muslim League do now join the Congress without difficulty. There are many members of the League who have joined the Congress. This itself is an advance. The separate electorate of the Muhammadans will, at any rate for a considerable time to come, stand in the way of Muhammadans freely identifying with the Congress. A suspicion still seems to lurk in the minds of many Muhammadans that an open alliance with the Congress may damage their political career. It is true that the League has openly advocated a combination of forces on terms acceptable to both. But nevertheless there is a suspicion in the minds of many Muhammadans that to combine with the Congress, until the community as a whole is prepared for it, may not be advantageous to individual interests.............Next year, however, the Congress is to be held in Karachee; and it has been specially invited there in the hope that the Muhammadans of the Province are anxious to join it. No doubt, there are local Muhammadans who cherish Congress principles and who are Congressmen. But the question is whether they will shake themselves of the feeling of uneasiness in

joining the Congress................There is no inconsistency in being a Muhammadan and being a Congressman. We have never been able to see any inconsistency. But it is doubtful whether the Muhammadans as a body are yet clear that the interests represented by the Congress are the interests of the Muhammadans".

21. In an article under the heading "The Hand of the Thief", the Indian Patriot, of the 22nd January,

The question of an Indian Navy.

observes:--"Again the voice comes from the English press that the contribution of India to the navy is all too inadequate, and the reply will be given from the Indian press that it is not inadequate considering the contribution of India to the army and her financial position. The question is whether the occasional protest of the Indian press will do in the face of the whole force of Mr. Winston Churchill and the gang of powerful politicians who insist on cherishing a fear of a German invasion of England. Mr. Churchill has said that he wants all the money that he could lay hands upon. And the voice of the Indian press must be helpless to force back these forcible men from their way of thinking............When the millions of Indian money are given to make up the increased contributions to the navy, we will not be able to adjust the military charges, as the recommendations of the Commission that have just sent up their report would have just then been brought into force. So long as Lord Hardinge is at the Head of affairs of India, we need not fear any idea of British supremacy prevailing to the detriment of the interests of the taxpayer in this country. It is the earnest wish of all Indians that the British supremacy should be maintained on the seas...........The dreadnought that is built with

the money that ought to have gone to pay for the food of the starving man in a famine-stricken area, will be a stamping stigma to the great fleet that is the wonder of the world. What is true of the Indian people is also true of the Indian princes, only it is true to a greater extent............To-day the voice of the working man in England is heard protesting against the cost of arnaments. The lot of a majority of Indians is the lot of the English working man minus his resources, his education, his organisation. We want the help of the English labourer with his extensive organisations to save us from the yawning gulf that is daily coming to the view, and to which we are being most deliberately led, in spite of all our protests. Not on the poor Indian fighting his perpetual battle against poverty and starvation, but on the glittering and great English fleet destroying the German fleet and sailing home in triumph, is the eye of the man turned who advocates the getting of all money that could be got...........We are not for the Keir-Hardism that would say awful things against the King as an institution, but we are for the Keir-Hardism that would say that war shall cease and the millions that are being spent to keep a country in a state of preparedness for war shall be spent in advancing the material condition of the majority of God's creatures. Let Englishmen surround themselves with terrible thoughts of an England fighting the German fleet in the North Sea, and do all that they like, but let not poor India be made to contribute to this expensive manner of affording an excitement to the mind of the average Englishman. It will be easy to prove that the contribution of India is shamefully out of all proportion to the trade that has to be protected in times of war, that the Mediterranean Sea is now an acute region, that for the British supremacy to be maintained at least a hundred more dreadnoughts should be built. It

may also be easy to prove that, unless India contributes very largely, the one hundred dreadnoughts cannot be built. And a Government of Indian that cannot resist the pressure of Lancashire cannot resist the pressure of the force behind this call for help to maintain the supremacy of England. It is a most appealing ideal and no man under certain conditions will openly oppose the naval movement without his patriotism being suspected. The largest number of victims will fall before the cry that a Liberal Government has raised...........We shall not be surprised if, behind the hole left by the fall of the opium revenue, and the building of new Delhi and the maintaining of the new provinces, the hand of the thief, the naval craze in England, should be extended and the food of the poor be taken away. The people of India should be on the alert, for, however disposed the Government of India may be, the hand of the Government will have to be strengthened when the pressure comes to be placed by the mighty people who manage the affairs of the mother country".

24. Referring to the visit of His Excellency the Governor of Bombay to Sind, and his replies to an address from Muhammadans, regarding their employment in the public service, the Indian Patriot, of the 23rd January, says:--"As compared with others, the Hindus have had a dominant share of appointments in the public service. This has been so in every province. Even in the Punjab, where the Muhammadans are in the majority, the Hindus have more or less held the field. And we have seldom heard any complaint from them anywhere except against Europeans who hold all the more important offices. The

Indians in the Public Service.

Public Service Commission is dealing with this problem, and may arrive at a decision which will be satisfactory. But as between different Indian communities there is going on a struggle for appointments though very often it is confined to murmurs.................In Sind, we have heard cries for some time from Muhammadans. When Lord Curzon last visited Karachi the Muhammadans prayed for special treatment. But that Viceroy did not give an encouraging reply. He told them of the importance of education and self-help, and they had to be satisfied. Now again they raised the question when the Governor went amidst them, and His Excellency told them in reply that the Government endeavours to meet the just claims of the Muhammadans in the matter of appointments in the public service.........His Excellency talked in a higher way to Hindus who represented to him their own case. He showed them that they had more than their legitimate share of appointments........So far as the public service is concerned, the most important considera-tion is efficiency, and when this is secured it will be open to the Government to distribute its patronage proportionately...........The claims of backward communities cannot be met consistently with the interests of the public service; and Government has to take qualified men from those which have a sufficient number of men possessing the required educational qualifications. But when efficiency is secured, there can be no difficulty in distributing its favours equally among all classes. Until then there must be inequalities such as was pointed out by the Muhammadans.........The trend of the evidence given before the Public Service Commission is that if competitive examinations were held in India Indians

would succeed in invonvenient numbers. When the conflict is between Indians themselves, they are willing to insist on educational qualifications. But where the conflict is between Indians and Europeans, they are compelled to raise argument of a different kind...........It can be shown, if necessary, that British supremacy can be quite maintained even if the entire Civil Service of India is filled by Indians. It does not rest on the servants employed, but on the character of the administration. And it has yet to be shown that Indian Civil Servants, educated and trained in Europe, cannot preserve the essential British character of the service. The British character consists not in the race of the individual, but in the characteristics which the individual can bring into play. The administration is British. It will be controlled by the British. And what difference will it make if the hands employed are Indians, that is supposing all hands will be Indians..........It is not pretended that the whole thing will be Asiatised as soon as the bulk of Civil Servants are Indians. The Indians will be merely agents and instruments, and not masters. They will obey the orders issued from above, and will do nothing of their own will. Even, therefore, putting it in an extreme form, it cannot be contended that it will be within their power to change the character of the Government. They cannot change even the character of the service. That character has been made and settled, and cannot be modified merely by a change in the personnel".

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32. The Swadesamitran, of the 15th January, says:-

The proceedings of the Public Service Commission. ....The Missionary gentleman also expressed the same opinion as Mr. Horne regarding the improvement of the condition of the Indians. We cannot understand the meaning of citing Christian Missionaries as witnesses regarding an important matter which concerns the everlasting welfare of India. There is no reason to believe that the Missionaries, who are mere birds of passage staying awhile in India only for the purpose of propagating their religion, will give sincere and impartial evidence about a matter which has an immediate bearing on the future prosperity of this country.

In dwelling on the same subject the Lokopakari, of the 20th January, says:--All the European witnesses before the Commission have expressed themselves against the following three reforms which the Indians have long been aspiring for; namely (1) the holding of the Civil Service examination simultaneously in England and India, (2) the separation of executive from judicial functions, and (3) the selection of vakils to judicial appointments. On the other hand, all the Indian witnesses before the Commission have unanimously supported the introduction of these reforms. These men know the present condition of India as well as the best means of improving it and it is these that have a good knowledge of the aims of the Indians. So the Commission will do well to base their report upon the evidence of these witnesses. The Europeans, who gave evidence before the Commission, are not permanent residents of India and have come over to this country only to make a living. Moreover they think that they are superior to the Indians in every respect and that the latter should always be subordinate to them. Therefore no weight should be attached to the evidence of these

men. It is the duty of the officials to conduct the Government of this country in harmony with the promises given by successive British Sovereigns that they would rule India most impartially.

The Sadhvi, of the 21st January, writes:--In case simultaneous examinations are instituted, 90 per cent. of those who will come out successful will be Indians, and barely 10 per cent. will be Englishmen; and the result will be that almost all the responsible posts will go to Indians. This excessive increase of the Indian element in the Civil Service is very much kept down now by the existing system of holding the examination in England. The British people cannot therefore be expected to establish simultaneous examinations. Whatever may be the other disabilities of Indians at present, they are at least entitled to become Civilian officers, provided they pass the examination held in England. More than this we never can expect.. Besides, it is essential that a certain proportion of the higher appointments should be reserved for Europeans. These have very few friends and relatives in this country, and consequently they are more likely to be impartial than Indians. At least for this reason, if for no other, ought we to wish for an irreducible minimum of Europeans in the Civil Service?

The Public Service Commission.

Mr. Cardew's evidence is all the more interesting on account of all the latent prejudice that has been displayed against the advancement of Indians........Mr. Cardew outdid Sir Ralph Benson in some of his opinions. He advanced the argument that if the Civil Serviee Examination were held simultaneously in England and India, it would at once produce an immense increase of Indian candidates. But he could not say whether it would result in any harm..........He anticipated all the 100 per cent of the

success to be Indian. He thus admitted that English youths were no match to their Indian compeers. Mr. Cardew, however, could not meet many of the questions put to him by the Hon'ble M.r Gokhale. The spirit pervading Mr. Cardew could be none other than that which pervaded the late Mr. Beames of the Bengal Civil Service, who frankly said before the Public Service Commission of 1886 that there were a good number of Englishmen who wanted employment, and that he preferred his countrymen to Indians. In fact all the civilian witnesses seem to be animated by the same spirit. They have no better arguments to advance against simultaneous examinations ....It has become quite clear that this question(viz., that of simultaneous examinations) is the real battle-ground between Indians and Europeans.

"But the evidence of no one even approaches Sir C. Sankaran Nair's evidence in point of out-spokennes. He says that the Government of India must be carried on on what are usually called English principles as opposed to oriental ones, and that certain classes of people should be strictly excluded from the public service.........Sir Nair thinks that the western ideals are the best ideals. He discounts the eastern ideals. This is due to a kind of national bias, and it is excusable. We are of opinion that whatever is best in the East and the West to make the administration an ideal one should be combined and that all those who are unable to wield the power entrusted to them in the best interests of good citizens, should be religiously excluded from public service.........There should be no Covenanted Civil Service Examination in England to select young men to govern India. Sir Nair was expected to accentuate this fact. It is a matter for regret that he has taken a view diametrically opposed to what is a sound one. He is opposed to nomination.

No man with an atom of sense in his head would advocate nomination. What does **nomination** mean? It is an introduction into the public service of men notorious for incompetency, of men who are pitchforked to places of trust and responsibility on the ground not of any intellectual or moral pre-eminence or of any special aptitute, but for the sole reason that they are the sons of their parents and the favourites of their god-fathers and god-mothers. No service, on which incompetent men are inflicted, will ever become efficient ....

The Sasilekha, of the 21st January, makes the following remarks:-The Civilian European witnesses before the Commission have given out that the Indians have no sense of duty and so they should not be admitted into the Indian Civil Service in greater numbers by the holding of simultaneous examinations. Revd. Andrew, a Missionary of Chingleput, stated that no appointment carrying a salary of more than Rs.800/- should be conferred on an Indian. The Civilian officers may perhaps be expected to be kind to us. But the vexation caused by the Missionaries is a hindrance to our progress. Indeed, if Indians rise to eminence, the tricks of Missionaries will all come to an end. Taking the evidence as a whole, the European witnesses have not spoken one word in favour of Indians. There is no doubt that the Civilians and the Missionaries in the other provinces too will echo the same statements. They are aware that if they advocate, by their evidence, the holding of simultaneous examinations and support the contention that the Indians should be admitted into the Indian Civil Service in larger numbers, their interests will suffer. His Majesty King George V, the Parliament,

The Secretary of State for India and the Viceroy should therefore consider the matter carefully and ameliorate the condition of the Indians. Surely no good can be expected from the enquiry by the Public Service Commission. The more the Indians are educated and qualify themselves, the greater grows the jealousy of the Civilians. We regret it very much. But we shall await the evidence to be given in North India.

VI. Miscellaneous.

36. The Swadesamitran, of the 15th January, observes:-

English officials and the Indians.

In distributing the prizes at a school in Allahabad, Sir James Meston, the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces, is reported to have said that obedience, respect for the elders and devotion to the King are the three important subjects on which instruction should now be given to the Indian students, and that the latter should be made to realise that officers of his stamp were the true friends of the people and not their enemies. Sir James Meston is said to be a kind Civilian, having an attachment for the people, and if he evinces this attachment in all that he does, there is no doubt that the people will begin to have a regard and love for him. We need not point out that it is in the interests of the country that the Civil Servants and the people should have a mutual confidence and love. But it is not sufficient if one party alone exhibits this confidence and love. As the Indians are now subordinate to the Civil Servants and are deemed to be inferior to the latter in status and respectability, it is the Englishmen who are now occupying a higher position that should exhibit confidence in and love

for the people. Then only the people begin to reciprocate these feelings. Confidence and love are of two kinds. The officials may show sympathy and love for the people in the matter of securing to them the daily necessaries of life. Of course the people will be greatly benefited by this. But it is only the poor and ignorant people that attach ~~as much importance to the progress of the~~ primary importance to their present life, without spending the least thought about their future. The rich and educated among the people attach as much importance to the progress of the community as a whole as to their own bodily comforts. So it is natural for these to aspire that the Indians, as a nation, should improve in civilisation and material prosperity, and it is the duty of the officials to help the people in achieving this object too. If, therefore, the officials exhibit confidence in and love for the people in both these directions, the latter will doubtless reciprocate these feelings.

Indian cash balances.

38. The Swadeshabhimani, of the 17th January, writes:--"It is held, in the articles that have been contributed to various papers on this subject, that it is against the interests of India that, at a time when in this country large sums of money are needed at favourable rates of interest for the development of her trade and industry and when her merchants are actually borrowing money at exorbitant rates, the accumulated Indian cash balances shold be placed at the disposal of British bankers and merchants in London at the very low rate of 2 or 3 per cent. interest. It is the general public opinion that India's money should remain in India alone and employed for the sole benefit of **India.**

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 1ST FEBRUARY 1913.

No. 5 of 1913.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

II. Home Administration

(a) General.

The Public Services Commission.

9. In a leading article dealing generally with the evidence recorded in Madras, by this Commission, the Weekly Chronicle, for the week ending 26th January, observes:--"In Madras the Public Services Commission examined in all 41 witnesses, of whom 10 were Europeans and the remaining 31 Indians. Of the Indians, 25 were Hindus, two Muhammadans, and four Indian Christians; and of the Hindus again 18 were Brahmins and seven non-Brahmins. These figures show that the witnesses were not chosen with due regard to the ~~that this has been a contributory cause to the decrease in the work of village courts. It is quite natural to expect villagers to prefer their suits to be tried~~ extent of the interests involved or to the bulk of the communities concerned. Whether the selection has been made in any haphazard manner or on any settled principle we have no means of knowing. We venture to think that greater thought should have been bestowed upon the matter, in order to give the representatives of every important community an opportunity to make their voices heard. As the evidence recorded stands, in point of quantity there is an over-

whelming preponderance on one side, while on the other side the same is not the case. If the members of the Commission are disposed to be guided not by the quality of the evidence, but by quantity, we can well imagine what their conclusions will be. But we presume that they will attach greater weight to the character of the evidence........... If what the European witnesses in Madras have stated before the Commission is to influence that body's final decision, no step whatever will be taken to modify the present system. In not a few cases their evidence has been the same..........But the sameness does not stop with the European witnesses. Equally similar have been the views of all ardent Congressmen of the orthodox school. It is thus evident that the Commission will have to discover a middle course, and we are in hopes that it will be able to do it. It is not likely that during its enquiries in other parts of India much new matter will be placed before it. Most witnesses to be examined elsewhere will represent and speak for one or other of the schools under which the Madras witnesses may be classified.................India stands in need of a far larger number of European officers who understand her people better and who are in sympathy with their aspirations. To ensure the recruitment of such men changes must be effected in the system.......... The contentment and happiness of India will depend, to a large extent, upon the ability of the Civil Service to appreciate the new ideas at work and the new points of view of the people. The civilian of the present day should be increasingly progressive in his sympathies, as the people become more and more permeated and leavened by the new spirit. In this behalf not only does India want a different class of high officials, but more Indians

who know the people, because they are of the people, should be brought into the higher branches of the Public Service. ....It will be nothing short of a public calamity indeed if the results of the labours of the Royal Commission ....Whatever view the Congress may hold, we are convinced that class representation is bound to come, at all events Lord Islington's Commission cannot ignore the subject. In Madras the necessity of recognising the legitimate claims of every important community and class in the service has been admitted and urged upon the Commission not only by Muhammadan, Christian, non-Brahmin and European witnesses, but by some Brahmin witnesses as well. Whatever evidence to the contrary may be forthcoming elsewhere, what the Madras witnesses laid special stress upon will have to be seriously considered by the Commission. ....By class representation is not meant the representation of Hindus, Muhammadans, Christians and Eurasians only. The Hindus are not one community. They consist of a large number of communities, every considerable and important section of which has a perfect right to be represented on the Public service, of which, perhaps the best judges are the local Governments. Let us hope that this point will not be lost sight of either by the Commission or by the Secretary of State and the Government of India".

Referring to the evidence of the Hon'ble Mr. A.G. Cardew, before the Public Services Commission, the Weekly chronicle, for the week ending 26th January, remarks:-- "If Mr. Cardew had gone into the figures regarding the subordinate services, which are recruited under a system more or less or almost wholly of patronage, equally interesting figures might have been forthcoming. But

one may naturally enquire why the European administrators, including Mr. Cardew, allowed such class preponderance? What steps has Mr. Cardew taken where patronage has been concerned to redress the balance and to do justice to the claims of every important community................. Whether calculated on the basis of population or on the basis of the number of highly-educated candidates available in each of the communities there can be no doubt that Mr. Cardew's figures, which seem to us to be rather arbitrary, cannot stand the test of a close scrutiny. If a careful enquiry is made in to certain other branches of the public service where educational qualifications are not rigorously insisted upon, and also into the railway service another set of interesting statistics would be forthcoming illustrating the evils of patronage as exercised not by the Brahman but in most cases by the European. The Brahman's sin is that intellectually he is smart and that he is exclusive. But where there is no intellectual smartness of any kind to speak of, can the evils of patronage be tolerated without serious detriment to the efficiency of the administration?.............Mr. Cardew holds that the European strength of the Civil Service should not be reduced, and we seem to see in some parts of his evidence that far from reducing it he is in favour of adding to it. For, what else does he mean when he says that he would reduce the age-limit of the Civil Service candidate knowing as he does that such a reduction would diminish the prospects of success in the competition of the Indian and that he is not generally in favour of sending Indian boys to compete in England? And this brings us to his observation about the Indian members of the

Civil Service. Of course he is in favour of the maintenance of the European element in the Indian Civil Service irrespective of statutory rules or of the competitive system. Like Sir Ralph Benson he has not a high opinion of the Indian as executive officer or criminal judge, a point by the way, upon which Mr. Rajagopalachari, Diwan of Travancore, whose experience as an administrator is not less varied than that of Mr. Cardew's expressed a contrary view before the Commission. But after this small preliminary it was expected that Mr. Cardew would come out somewhat strong against the Indian members of the Civil Service. He admitted that Indians appointed to listed posts have done well as Collectors and Magistrates, perhaps as a deserved compliment to those on the spot who selected them.......... What we want to know is whether, apart from isolated instances, they have been as a class given opportunities of distinction, whether the rules of transfer and promotion and posting have been worked to their advantage and whether they have no complaints to make about the way in which they are dealt with Mr. Cardew as a high and highly-respected official should, in our judgment, have thought twice before he elected to generalise in this fashion".

10. The Madras Standard, of the 27th January, writes:--

The Public Services Commission at Calcutta.

"The evidence before the Public Service Commission at Calcutta does not seem to be more encouraging than that given at Madras. So notable a person as S.P. Sinha is against the system of simultaneous examinations and in reply to Mr. Gokhale he said that his scheme would take 30 years before Indians get one-third of the higher appointments. He has no objections to introduce simultaneous

examinations, provided that a limit is fixed for the admission of the successful Indian candidates and he would fix the limit so low as one-third of the yearly vacancies. It is difficult to imagine a person like Mr. Sinha advocating a scheme like this and the full report of his evidence does not give any strong arguments for such a disappointing statement of the Indian case............ Sir R.N. Mukherjee has, strange to say, given his opinion against simultaneous examinations...............He seems to be of opinion that all Indian students in England are afforded as many opportunities to come into contact with the best ideals in England as he himself had during his recent brief visit to that country. The position he has taken up before the Commission can be explained on no other hypothesis".

Writing on this subject, the Hindu, of the 28th January, says:- Sir H. Carnduff's evidence resembles in many respects that given by Sir Ralph Benson in Madras ....He is, however, much more positive than Sir Ralph Benson as to Indians in the Indian Civil Service not being as efficient as the Europeans. He said in answer to question 27:-

> " 'A. Judging by actual results so far, I think that the reply must be in the negative. It apparently has not been found possible to appoint Indian members of the Indian Civil Service ordinarily to the higher executive posts, such as Commissionerships, Memberships of the Board of Revenue and Secretaryships; and as regards the judicial branch, no such Civilian has ever been appointed permanently to the Calcutta High Court, while only two have risen to be Legal Remembrancer. It has struck me that the best Indian officers are those who have received a substantial part of their education in England'.

"Mr. Ramsay Macdonald in his examination sifted this broad and sweeping statement and showed how worthless for the purpose of the Commission such evidence was........... The statement as to Indian inferiority inferred from the mere fact of their not having been given the higher posts in the service, was repeated by Mr. W.S. Milne, I.C.S., a junior Secretary of the Board of Revenue, and well, we suppose, be repeated by other European Civilians. Whatever the basis of their statements, their interest in them is obvious, and their value in the absence of just and sufficient grounds will be little while the mischief caused by such statements especially made by those who can have no claim to speak with authority on the question, is great. It seems to us a matter for the consideration of the Commission whether this question ought to be allowed to be answered by any but those who have had sufficient opportunity and material to form and express an opinion on the subject. This aspect of the matter was well realised by the Hon'ble Mr. Beatson Bell, the next witness examined, who, though himself a senior Civilian of experience, would not answer the question as, in his opinion, 'it is presumably intended that this question should be answered by Government and not by the brother officers of the gentlemen concerned' ".

The failure of the Indian Official.

11. In a leading article under this heading, the Indian Patriot, of the 28th January, observes:--"Sir Sankaran Nair's opinion that certain classes of people should be excluded from the Indian Civil Service; Mr. S.P. Sinha's view that an unrestricted simultaneous examination would result in the influx of his own countrymen which,

under present conditions, is not to the good of the country and that the appointment of Indians in the higher service should be confined to one-third of the total number; the opinion of important merchants like Sir Mookerjee and Mr. P. Tyagaraja Chettiar, that simultaneous examinations should not be held;--all this point firmly to one clear fact, namely, that, in the opinion of these gentlemen, certain Indian officials have not justified their high position. It is well that we realise this, and at the extreme limits, so that efforts may be made systematically to regain the lost position. It is useless to argue that opinions based on individual's experience are not valuable? The idiosyncrasy of one European remains to leaven the mind against the whole class, and there was enough evidence in Madras that a cloud of distrust separated class from class............If the Public Services Commission that is collecting evidence should fail to do justice to the aspirations of Indians, it will not be because that the justice of their cause is not acknowledged, neither that the un-English mind prevails of preserving the field for the sons of Britain, but that Indian officials, in certain posts, have not conducted themselves with the high sense and liberal attitude, which we understand by western spirit...........The conduct of Sir Sankaran Nair and Mr. S.P. Sinha before the Public Service Commission shows that there are Indians who can take a thorough and comprehensive grasp of the situation and assert, in the face of the political agitator of the type who can see nothing bad in Indians and everything bad in Europeans, that there is yet much in Indians that is bad enough to bar their claims. Sir Sankaran Nair's views and Mr. Sinha's views at once and peremptorily call for self-examination on the part of officials. They must pluck out the Pundit, the Moulvi and the un-English Englishman from them, and be patriots, feel

that they are in the cabinet of an Indian Parliament called to a meeting on the eve of a war, and acquit themselves with greatness and resolution. And there is the war, the surging claim of the Indians on one side, the distrust and lack of confidence on the other".

VI. Miscellaneous.

15. The following appears in the United India and Native States for the week ending 25th January;-"It is

The Delhi outrage.

amusing to read the ignorant effusions of the English Tory press with reference to conditions of life in India. The Saturday Review has consistently played the role of enemy to the Indian people and it is no wonder that its remarks on the Delhi outrage are such as might be expected from a journal with its traditions. This veracious critic says 'the incident will stir the sympathy of the Englisah towards the whole body of their fellow countrymen in India who calmly and courageously carry on their duties under such disturbing conditions and that every one of them is daily exposed to such a catastrophe as has befallen the head of the administratiön' This is a piece of arrant nonsense for which it would be hard to find a parallel even in the Tory press. Whila the entire population is shocked and giieved beyond measure at the accident of the 23rd December, it is grotesque to assert that English officers in India are daily exposed to the risk of assassination by Indians. India is such a vast country with teeming millions that ruffians like the one who has brought eternal and indelible shame on the fair name of his country should be expected to show their head once in a way. The best remedy is not to libel a whole nation for the misdeeds o f a few but to root out

the pestilential gang-an effort in which the Indian people will gladly co-operate with Government".

Non-official members of the Legislative Councils.

16. In publishing an article by a "Congressman", in which he deals with the suggestion to hold a Congress of all the non-official members of the Indian Legislative Councils, the Weekly Chronicle, for the week ending 26th January, says:--"We are afraid that either personal jealousy or the spirit of clannishness or both and lack of public spirit and enterprising energy may stand in the way of the suggestion being carried out. We hear perorations about nationality on the Congress platform and had the same recently from the witness box before the Public Service Commission. We are told that the goddess of competition should be worshipped in the hallowed name of efficiency and are asked to believe that class representation would be the natural parent of all the evils of jobbery, a term which is often made to do duty for the word patronage, as if clannishness due to differences of class had not produced evils far more heinous and numerous than those likely to be engendered by the worst system of nomination. But when the non-official members of a public body like an important municipality or Legislative Council are asked to organise themselves and co-operate with one another for the promotion of the common good, oftener than not a large number of our patriots think first and foremost of themselves and secondly of the interests of their clan. Can we look for consistent and concerted action among such men?".

The Pall Mall Gazette and Indian Muhammadans.

18. Referring to an editorial, which appeared in the Pall Mall Gazette, of the 6th January, on the rift

that is developing between the Muhammadans and the British Government, the Muhammadan, of the 27th January, says:--"We think that the diagnosis of the Pall Mall Gazette is not correct. The dissatisfaction does not in the main lie either in the extinction of the province of Eastern Bengal, or in the discouragement of the Moslem University scheme, or in the deprivation of their fair share of office and honours. These might be contributing causes, but the chief reason lies in the attitude of the British Cabinet towards Turkey, and towards the Italian and Balkan wars. If England had a better class of statesman at the helm of affairs, if she had pursued a policy of strict neutrality and had cared for the feelings of her loyal subjects in India, such a regrettable state of affairs would not have arisen. As the Pall Mall Gazette puts it, the time for making good the breach is not yet over, but will the British Cabinet do it? In the Parliament itself there seems to be such a conspiracy of silence that no one would raise his voice on behalf of Turkey".

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 8TH FEBRUARY 1913.

No. 6 of 1913.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

II. Home Administration.

(k) General.

8. The Madras Standard, of the 3rd February, writes:

The Public Services Commission.

Hindu Moslem difference during the Muharram is a frequent example in this presidency. When a Hindu festival falls during the Muharram notably in Ceded Districts, there is always trouble ahead. When the Divisional officer happens to be a Hindu he is placed in a delicate position We have known some cases in which the District Magistrates kept silent in answer to requisition for instructions, whether to enforce the ordinary law of equal rights or to recognise special customs pleaded by the Muhammadan population. If the District officer is pro-Muhammadan, the Divisional officer or the Subordinate Magistrate is likely to be found fault with as having given in to Hindu leanings, and neglected to give a due consideration to the contention of the Muhammadans. It is only in such cases, where communities come into clash, that Indian officials hesitate to take the responsibility and that is solely due to the unwillingness of the European officer above to give the lead or advise in such matters, so that he might veer round himself as events develop...........

The Public Services Commission.

In comparing the evidence before the Public Services Commission in Madras and Calcutta, the Madras

Standard, of the 7th February, says:- "The differende between the evidence of the official witnesses in Madras and Calcutta is that whereas in Madras they generally played on the class hatred between the Brahmins and the other castes, in Calcutta the European witnesses generally took upon themselves the equally paying and mischievous work of traducing the capacity of their Indian colleagues. ....As to one other question of importance, all the witnesses at Calcutta were unanimous in their demand for the separation of the judicial from the executive services and the idea of class representation, which was so prominent in the evidence of a good many witnesses in Madras, has received practically no attention at all in Bengal".

Indians and the Indian Civil Service.

9. The Indian Patriot, of the 4th February, writes as follows:- "The view of those who hold that all administrative posts should be held by Europeans is opposed to the system which has been lately introduced. The principle is admitted that the country should be governed more or less in

The Present attitude of most Englishmen, however, is one of immense superiority. Many of them do not believe that Indians can ever be equal to them in anything.............. From these facts we have to deduce our inferences, if the present system of control and influence continues in Indian hands and the responsibility for work and duty remains with the Englidh. An antagonism must be established between the two, and this antagonism must in the long run become permanent. The new spirit which is being introduced is impaired by what is being said before the Public Service

Commission. It is only in Southern India that anything like caste spirit and caste jealousy are being shown. Elsewhere there are no Brahmins and non-Brahmins. Even in Madras the difference is more apparent than real. The sense of injustice involved in the exclusion of Indians is common to all...........When we come to consider the question in its ultimate aspect, we must conclude that Indians will feel the sting of exclusion on the ground of race. But even if we except Madras, we have to count with the other provinces of India.......... Uncompromising hostility on the part of Englishmen to Indian claims must be modified; and Indians themselves do not fix their claims very high. They will be content if by some modification of the present system they are admitted to equality of opportunity. They insist on an examination in England and India, and they can be given it subject to the safeguard that a certain proportion of Britishers must somehow be maintained. This can be done without violating any of the principles contended for by Englishmen and admitted by Indians themselves".

13. The Indian Patriot, of the 4th February, observes:-

Sir Valentine Chirol and Indian aspirations.

"Of no Royal Commissioner now enquiring into the condition of the Public Services in India, could it be said that he has a more thorough grasp of the subject than Sir Valentine Chirol. His questions show that he has already formed certain definite ideas in his mind, and his attitude has been a thoroughly understandable one. He could grasp the ideals of the witnesses from the written evidence, and only when the witness could be useful to

solve any doubts in his won mind does he ask any question. And when he does ask, it is not in the form of an interpellation, but in a fashion to put into the mouth of the witness in explicit terms what he has either not expressed or has not expressed in the manner that brings it out fully. In this respect Sir Valentine Chirol's questions stand unique in the proceedings of the Commission.................The remarkable statement was drawn by Mr. Gokhale by a series of questions that in none of the important districts has an Indian been placed as its head for several years. Whenever an Indian has been placed in responsible positions, he has seldom failed to give a good account of himself. And if he has erred it has not been due solely to the want of the British characteristics. We want the Commission to find a way to open up opportunities to acquire the British characteristics..................Sir Valentine Chirol has expressed himself admirably, and if the Public Services Commission will see that such opportunities do exist on a liberal scale, it would not have sat in vain".

16. The West Coast Reformer, of the 6th February, has the following:--"Hardly have we closed one story of emigration with a letter from Government regarding the sad end of two juvenile emigrants, we come across another wail from afar. This time the cry comes from an adult and his wife and daughter who are now in Gapis Estate, Penang. Krishna Menon, Ammukutti Amma and Devaki are natives of Pattambi, Walluvanad taluk, Malabar, and they emigrated sometime ago to find their living in the modern El Dorado of the Far East. Now comes a letter from Krishna

The treatment of emigrants.

Menon to his own brother--a letter which for its pathos reads like a piece of fiction...........The letter is in Malayalam. The orginal is much more pathetic than the translation. The writer says that such brutal treatment is not meted out to labourers in other estates, and that he can find honourable living elsewhere if he is releived from his present employer. Now the Protector of Emigrants is either unaware of the proclivities of some of the employers of labour or of the state of affairs in those distant estates. It is unfortunate that there is so little opportunity for labourers to make their complaints easily heard in proper quarters. The letter of Krishna Menon has been already placed in the hands of the District Magistrate of Malabar, who is, we are sure, sympathetically investigating the complaint. We hope the Protector of Emigrants will make searching enquiries and ascertain how far the complaint is true. There is no use of communicating with the employer by post.......... Particular attention should be paid to the character of the employer before his demand for labour is supplied. The emigrant should be clearly informed of the task that awaits him in the distant estates. Opportunities should also be given to the emigrant for the ventilation of his grievances. In this connection, another occurrence may also be referred to. We hear that a Brahmin constable of the Railway Police attached to the Shoranur station was a few days ago transferred to Villupuram on the ground that he advised a Nair woman to ascertain what sort of life she would have to lead in the place to which she intended to emigrate. Is it a fact?".

17. The Cochin Argus, for the week ending 8th February, writes:--"..............

The Delhi Outrage.

While the Viceroy's condition gives increasing room for satisfaction, it is becoming increasingly disappointing to be told that no clue has yet been obtained to the perpetration of the outrage, which the whole country still continues to deplore and denounce. Immediately after the outrage, as may be remembered, the people of Delhi grew frantic with indignation and determination was expressed on all sides to do every thing possible to help the authorities to bring the miscreant or miscreants to justice. After all this, it is hardly encouraging to be told that the authorities have had to warm residents of Delhi that they should really try to be less apathetic in connection with the attempts which are necessary to the unravelling of the mystery. We are by no means disposed to question the loyalty and sincerity of the citizens of Delhi, but we fear that we have again the proof which has often been forthcoming that the Indian loyalist is very ready, with professions of loyalty, but is liable to disappoint those who reasonably expect him to give tangible proofs of his readiness to place himself on the side of law and order and to join in a proper stand up fight against sedition and anarchy. The Indian loyalist unfortunately is also too easily liable, even if unconsciously or unintentionally, to sneer at the most sensible suggestions for the discouragement of sedition. Thus, the Bengalee, which has indignantly denounced the Delhi outrage, has betrayed some little irritation over the Viceroy's disapproval of immoderation in writing and speaking........

For our part, we consider it most regrettable that at such a juncture, such a paper as the Bengalee, which weilds no little influence over young India, should have found anything at all to criticise in so sensible, sympathetic and statesmanlike a speech as the one delivered the other day by Lord Hardinge at Delhi".

(k) General.

India and the British navy.

27. Referring to certain proposals made by some Anglo-Indian papers that India should increase her contribution towards the cost of the British navy, the Swadesamitran, of the 24th January, observes:--We do not see on what grounds India is asked to increase her contribution. On the other hand, there are several reasons why she need not do so. Firstly, though the contribution of India is less than that of the colonies, it should be noted that she pays twenty million pounds for the Indian army, which includes British forces also. Besides this army, the Native Chiefs are maintaining a corps, called the Imperial Service troops, at their own expense. This Indian army and the Imperial Service troops not only protect India, but are also prepared to help Britain in any part of the world. Thus the cost of an army, which should be maintained by Great Britain at her own expense, is now borne partly by India, but not by the colonies. Then again, it is stated that India has obtained many benefits from Great Britain; but no mention is made of the benefits the latter derives from the former. It may be true that the value of the sea-borne trade of India has now increased to 250 million pounds; but a greater portion of the

profits derived from this trade is enjoyed only by the British people, as the merchants carrying on import, and export trade in India are most of them Britishers. Apart from this, there are a very large number of Englishmen, making a living in India either as military or civil employees or as merchants or otherwise. As a matter of fact, it is admitted by several Englishmen that there is not one family in Britain which does not live by income derived from India. Even men of the stamp of Lord Curzon have stated that, had it not been for India, England would now only be a third-rate country in the world. This being so, we do not think it is reasonable for Great Britain to compel India to contribute a larger sum of money towards the cost of the British navy.

The Public Service Commission.

The Bharatamata, of the 29th January, has the following in its English Columns:- "The Public Service Commission has left Madras. What is the effect? Indians are angry with the Europeans who, having fed fat on Indian money, sought to shut the gates of distinction and higher emoluments to the children of the soil. Europeans are exulting over the factious spirit shown by Indian witnesses. Eminent Indian witnesses talked of caste representations in public service. Each caste wrangled for itself, notably non-Brahmans, Muhammadans, Anglo-Indians, while all these 'natives of India', besides the unfortunate Brahmans, were equally unwelcome and inferior to Europeans. What is the western spirit? Unity in self-interest. What is the Eastern spirit? Individualism in self-interest. Verily, East is East and West is West, but caste is universal, so far as the witnesses before the Commission were concerned.

The European witness was not any the less caste-ridden than the unfortunate Brahman. It is doubtful whether the Commissioners have noticed this".

VI. Miscellaneous.

43. The Hindu Nesan, of the 27th January, observes:-

Cordiality between Europeans and Indians.

Though the relations between Europeans and Indians is now better than what it was before, it is regrettable that some Europeans still think it to be beneath their dignity to allow the Indians to come near them. Some time ago a Malayalee gentleman, who wanted to get into a first-class compartment at the Central Station, was prevented from doing so by a European, who was already in it, and the former was openly insulted by the latter in the worst language possible, in spite of the Stationmaster protesting against such behaviour on the part of the European. Then agi again an Indian Sannayasin, who appears to be observing a vow of silence for the last ten years and more, was recently treated by the Eurasian ticket collectors at the Central Station Station most despicably. We quote these instances merely to show that the Europeans have not yet come to realise the evils arising from treating the Indians with scanty courtesy.

44. In commenting upon the proceedings of the Public

High appointments to Indians.

Service Commission at Calcutta, the Swadesamitran of the 30th January, observes:--Some of the Anglo-Indian witnesses before this Commission have advanced a novel reason for the Indians not being given the higher appointments in India. They say that, if Indians were given the higher appointments in the country, European

capitalists would lose their confidence in the Government of India and would no longer carry on any business in this country with their own capital and that this would impoverish India. But we do not see that there is room for any such fear. The mere nomination of Indians to higher appointments will not make the Government of India non-British in character. Then again, when British capital is being freely invested in countries like China, having an independent Government, why should the British capitalists hesitate to invest their capital in India. As a matter of fact, the extent to which one country invests its capital in another depends upon the profits the former hopes to make from opening a business in the latter, and as Indians are naturally poor and cannot afford to buy costly articles, there is no prospect of British capital pouring into India in large quantities even now. So the threat of these Anglo-Indians that the nomination of Indians to higher appointments will prevent the British capital coming into this country has no meaning in it.

45. The Swadesamitran, of the 31st January, comments, as follows, upon the Statement of Lord Hardinge, when he opened the Imperial Legislative Council at Delhi, that the assassin, who committed this horrible outrage at Delhi, evidently belonged to a class of individuals who made such crimes the aim of their life, that the existence of such a class could not but be known to the wise and moderate among the people, and that every effort should be made by the community to remove the slur cast upon the fair name of India by this outrage:-

The Delhi outrage.

For aught we know, the community as a whole has been quite in the dark about the assassins who have been committing such dastardly crimes within the last few years. Not even their nearest relatives have had the least knowledge about their motives. Nothing has been brought out even in the trial of some of these assassins to establish that the public were in the know about their horrible practices. Therefore it is not fair to presume that these anarchists ply their trade in a manner known to the people. By saying this, we do not mean that there should be any want of earnestness on the part of the people in helping the Government to find out these culprits. The people are prepared to co-operate with the Police in this matter most heartily. But it will not conduce to the benefit of India for a sympathetic Viceroy like Lord Hardinge and other British statesman to believe that these despicable crimes are committed with the knowledge of at least a few Indians. It is surprising that even the offer of a reward of a lakh of rupees has not brought about the detection of the wretch who committed the outrage at Delhi. Though the devilish spirit of anarchism got into India only from Europe, it looks as if it sands to become a permanent fixture in this country and the heavy burden of preventing it and rooting out the evil rests upon the shoulders of India.

46. The Swadesamitran, of the 3rd February, observes:--

[The european evidence before the Public Service Commission]

We quite sympathise with Mr. J.N. Gupta, District Collector of Malta, in Eastern Bengal, who complained before the Public Service Commission that young and inexperienced civilians had been allowed to call in question the administrative capability of Indian civilians or ripe experience. What do the Englishmen, who have no experience

of India, know about the Indians? Even before the English officials arrive here, they have exaggerated notions of their racial superiority and administrative capabilities. In the case of some of them, they change their opinion as they gain experience in this country; but there are others who entertain this idea almost till they leave the Indians shores. So it is no wonder that all the English witnesses before the Commission have been declaring that the Indians are, as a rule, inferior to them in the matter of administrative capability and that they have not that vigilance and activity, which the Englishmen have in virtue of their birth and breeding. One European witness in Bengal said that the Indians might acquire these qualities hereafter, as a result of their coming in contact with the westerns. But the Indians have been observing the capabilities of the Englishmen for the last 200 years and they have also had the benefit of English education, and yet it is said that they have not acquired the virtues of the Englishmen. But this is not the first time that such an argument is advanced. Almost every new reform introduced in India has been opposed by the Englishmen on this ground and no weight should therefore be attached to this view.

48. Referring to the question of a naval force for India, The Desamata, of the 29th January, says that the

A naval force for India

colonies do not spend more than India for the defence of the British Empire. Canada means to spend 10 crores and 50 lakhs of rupees in providing the empire with warships. This amount will be paid only for one year, whereas India is already paying a sum of 30 crores every year for the army. The amount which Malaya has promised to give for

Imperial defence does not come up to even a tenth of what India is now paying. The military expenditure of all the colonies including Canada cannot be equal to the military expenditure in India which is being crushed year after year by famines. The Government of India are unable on account of want of funds to provide for the education of the masses and improvement of sanitation. Again Indians are not enlisted in the army or the navy. The paper is at a loss to know why under such circumstances India should bear this new burden of a naval force. The paper believes that the Government of India themselves will see that no additional burden is thrown on the shoulders of India, which is already paying a third of its revenue for the defence of the empire.

The hatred of Brahmans.

50. The Sadhvi, of the 4th February, observes:--In the course of his evidence before the Public Service Commission Mr. Balaji Nayudu stated that the ryots wish to have non-Brahmans in place of Brahman officers. This may be true. But it is probable that this partiality on the part of the ryots is due to the incitement of some Brahman-haters themselves. In appointing men to Government service, merit should be the sole test, quite irrespective of the distinctions of caste, creed or colour. Recruited in this way, the Civil Service will escape that inefficiency and disrepute which is the inevitable result of giving special representation to the backward classes. Besides, intellectual ability alone should not be the sole criterion employed in recruiting officers to the public service. An honest mind, a keen sense of right and justice and all those qualities which go to make a successful administrator should equally be taken into account. Just to give people an idea of the consequences

that would follow the replacement of Brahmans by non-Brahmans in the public service, let all the Brahman officers serving under the Government of Mysore be removed, let all the Brahman employees in His Highness' Court be sent away, and let all the places thus vacated be given to non-Brahmins. What would be the result? The brahmans would immediately take to agriculture, trade and industries, and, by force of their superior intellect, soon outdistance the non-Brahmans in the several occupations; and the result would be that, whereas now only a small percentage of people are envying the Brahmans their high positions in the public service, in the eventuality that we are now considering, the whole working population would turn against the Brahmans. It is nothing uncommon that those who have risen to high positions by dint of their abilities should be envied by those who are less capable and less efficient. Considering all these things, the evidence given by Mr. Balaji Nayudu seems very strange.

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 15TH BEBRUARY 1913.

No. 7 of 1913.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY INDIANS

II. Home Administration.

(b) Courts.

The Punjab Advocate and the Press Act.

3. Referring to the decision of a full bench of the Punjab Chief Court confirming the forfeiture of Rs.2,000, security deposited by the Punjab Advocate, the Indian Patriot, of the 10th February, says:--"The process whereby the court has arrived at the conclusion that 'Government by law established in British India' is the same as the Government or the Chief Commissioner of the North-West Frontier Provinces seems to us peculiar. They take 'Government' as defined in the General Clauses Act and apply it to the question raised in the case. They argue that the definition of 'Government' as includes both the Government of India and local Governments, and 'Local Government' is defined as including a Chief Commissioner. The conclusion is thus established that 'Government by law established in British India' includes 'Government by law established in the North-West Frontier Provinces'. Not only the process, but the view, seems curious. 'Government' standing by itself is one thing; and 'Governments as by law established in British India' is quite another. When we speak of Government it means the personnel; but when we speak of 'Government by law established in British India', it means the political system, as laid down by Mr. Justice Strachy in his summing up to the jury in the Tilak case. It

is the system of British Government in India which is intended to be protected. Any attack on its general character which may bring it into hatred or contempt must be taken as an attack on the system of Government established by law in British India. It must have reference to the special characteristics of British rule and not to individual failings...........The expression 'Government by law established in British India' is the same both in section 124-A of the Penal Code and the Press Act. That expression means obviously a quite different thing from Government of India and Local Governments. It describes the system of Government, in its essential character, not its personnel, or its local varieties. It does not mean its temporary or accidental character, but what is permanently and inseparararably associated with it".

(k) General.

14. The West Coast Spectator, of the 8th February, remarks:--"Mr. J.N. Gupta's evidence before the Public Services Commission on simultaneous examinations and allied subjects deserves to be widely read both by Europeans and Indians. Himself a distinguished member of the Bengal Civil Service, Mr. Gupta's evidence is entitled to be listened to with respect. He condemns in unmistakeable language the tendency on the part of some witnesses and members of the Commission to introduce unnecessary racial questions or an undue partisan spirit into the consideration of the questions referred to the Commission.............We hope this stern rebuke will silence those armchair critics, whose special qualification

Mr. J.N. Gupta's evidence before the Public Services Commission.

is that they have in them enough and more of racial prejudice and pride, who are not ashamed to pour a lot of nonsense into the ears of the Public Services Commission. Mr. Gupta deserves the thanks of his brother Indian Officers as well as those of the Indian Public for so courageously vidicating their reputation".

The question of an Indian naval contribution.

22. In a leader under the heading "Manufacturing Discontent", the Madras Standard, of the 10th February, writes:--"The ball that has been set rolling by a few busy bodies, who can never rest until India's burden exceeds the maximum, and the progress of her internal development and the satisfaction of the absolute needs of her millions are reduced to a snail's pace, is now being kicked rather vigorously. The question of India's naval contribution has now been transferred for discussion to higher sphere from the arena of a few Anglo-Indian dailies. There is no doubt that the progress of the question is being deftly engineered in England and some Anglo-Indian journalists who are now in England are at it............ The discussion of such inconvenient topics and of the ability of the Indian finance to bear the heavy burden, in view to the loss of the opium revenue, and the urgent needs of the people in sanitary, educational and industrial matters, is carefully kept back from the British public ....Has Mr. Churchill been captured? A wary Radical like him, we refuse to believe, has fallen so easy a prey to the spurious agitation set up by a few nobodies. But there is no doubt, an organised attempt is being made to bring pressure to bear upon Lord Crewe from the Admiralty. The action of the Colonial Secretary is held up as an example to Lord Crewe. But is Mr. Harcourt's relation to the self-governing dominions the same

as that of Lord Crewe to India? The Secretary of State for India is virtually the ruler of India and is responsible for the moral and material well-being of the Indian millions. In the present Cabinet, including the omniscient Mr. Churchill, nobody can lay claim to a greater knowledge of Indian affairs than Lord Crewe and when he has set his face against the agitation, as proved by the answers in the House of Commons to questions on Indian naval contribution, he must have very good reasons for refusing to add to India's burden, which fire-eating Imperialists and political scare-mongers will not pause to consider............ For all that India gives England is it too much to expect Britain to guard its trade route, without taxing India further? Is ~~this~~ it to be all the benefit on one side and all the burden on the other? Is this the conception of Britain's mission in India, the narrow and Pecksniffian conception that is now advanced by those who ride their hobby horse of Indian naval contribution?............There is one journal conducted by an Indian, which, while opposing the burdening of the Indian tax-payer, calls upon the Indian Chiefs and Rajas to present at least three dreadnoughts......... It is true that millions of money are wasted in frivolties and useless conventionalities. While these should be checked, they do not justify a naval contribution. How many Native States are there in which there is compulsory elementary education, good sanitation, village and urban, and industrial activities fostered by the State? Is it not the primary duty of a ruler to attend to the moral and material well-being of his subjects, before he can think of an additional and highly expensive demonstration of loyalty to the empire, which, when done at the sacrifice of the urgent needs of the people, will never be acceptable to His Majesty himself?...............

India will certainly stand by Great Britain in its hour of trouble and danger, but it is unwise to put a severe strain upon her loyalty and take advantage of her helplessness in matters of burdening her finance".

Writing on this subject, the Wednesday Review, for the week ending 12th February, says:--"It has been the peculiar misfortune of India that whenever schemes of financial retrenchment are about to be inaugurated, their purpose is immediately defeated by a substantial increase in some other direction. Now that the report of the Nicholson Committee is being anxiously awaited, and we expect some retrenchment, an attempt is being made to saddle the country with a heavy naval contribution. That irresponsible scribes in the Daily Telegraph should institute absurd comparisons about our naval contribution with that of the dominions to our disparagement is understandable; but that Anglo-Indian newspapers should fall in readily with their views is more than we can understand........ The two power standard has been adopted to protect solely the shores of the United Kingdom and to secure the free supply of food by keeping the ocean free. It will be clearly seen by a perusal of the State documents relating to military expenditure, that British statesmen have always maintained that the regulating principle must be one of arithmetical calculation. If so, the claim for contribution to the Navy fails, because the Naval expenditure is not ~~incree-~~ incurred on behalf of India. What is the power whom we fear? No Naval power to be sure........... The cry for an Indian contribution to the Navy is based upon misconception, and inexplicable ignorance of the heavy sacrifice we are already making, and is urged by people who do not seem to realise the comparatively little interest we have in maintaining a Navy of our own, or the tremendous effect it will have on Indian finance.

If we Eastern squadron has to be strengthened, let it not be forgotten that it has to be strenghened not for the sake of India, but for the sake of Australia. The only Naval power which can menace British supremacy in Asiatic waters is Japan, and from Japan, if ever Japan and Britain were to fall out, the Australian Commonwealth will have more to fear than India. Without the British Navy, Australia cannot hold its own for a week before Japan, while India is all but unconquerable. Let the dominions and those who have their heads turned by the so-called colonial generosity ponder over it".

35. In a leader under this heading, the Hindu Nesan, of the 6th February, observes:-

Cordiality between Europeans and Indians.

It is of the utmost importance that all European officers should be able to converse with the people of this country freely in their own vernaculars. An officer who converses with the people in their own language and is in a position to understand what they say will surely command better respect and evoke better confidence from the people than one who requires a munshi to act as an interpreter between himself and the people.

The Swadeshabhimani, of the 7th February, writes:-

The Public Service Commission.

Though the distribution of official patronage is, in any case, certain to create differences among the different castes and communities, yet the adoption of the system of so distributing the appointments as to satisfy all classes will only make matters worse and lead to permanent estrangement between the different communities. The method of selecting officers on the sole considerations of merit and efficiency, irrespective of caste distinctions, on the other hand, though it will, doubtless at first,

result in a large increase of Brahmins in the Public service, will encourage the other classes also to rise to the level of the Brahmins and enable them ultimately to compete on equal terms with their more favoured brethren. Non-Brahmins realise that it is no use envying the Brahmins their superior intellectual abilities. The Brahmins, too, must bear in mind that to look down upon the backward classes as their intellectual inferiors is a serious obstacle to national progress. The setting apart of a certain number of appointments for non-Brahmins till they become intellectually fit to hold them, and bestowing the places thus reserved upon such members of the backward communities as are qualified for them, will sufficiently encourage those communities to avail themselves of the existing educational facilities and thus come up to the intellectual level of the Brahmins. The institution of simultaneous examinatdons, too, will gradually lead to the fading away of castte districtions, through a greater extension of education among the people.

VI. Miscellaneous.

The British Spirit.

55. In commenting upon the proceedings of the Public Service Commission, the Lokopakari, of the 3rd February, says:--Almost every European witness before the Commission laid stress upon the fact that no efforts should be spared to maintain the British spirit in the Indian administration and that in order to do so the number of Europeans now holding higher appointments should not be reduced. But what is this British spirit? It is a democratic spirit, according to which justice is meted out impartially

without distinction of caste or creed. From what we see, the Europeans now coming to India do not have this spirit at all. On the other hand, they deem themselves to be the rulers and think that they are, as such, entitled to all the privileges. How can these be expected to conduct the administration impartially? The aim of the British Government is to rule over India without making any distinction of caste or creed and to enable every one of its subjects to enjoy the same kind of privileges. But this is lost sight of by the English officials who come to India and that is why the Indian witnesses before the Commission complained that the English officials of the present day do not act in accordance with the wishes and aspirations of the Indians.

In a leader upon the same subject, the Lokopakari, of the 10th February, observes:--Many of these European witnesses are evidently unaware of the promise contained in the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 that, in giving high appointments to her subjects, it is education, merit and capability that would be taken into consideration and not the distinction of caste or creed. Though these officials are born in Britain, where all people enjoy the same privileges, they have not imbibed the true British spirit and yet they find fault with the Indians for not having that spirit. Even in Courts of Justice, the European Judges are not always impartial. A European accused almost always gets the least punishment while an Indian accused always the greatest. A recent case in Rangoon, where a soldier, who was charged with having murdered an Indian constable, was eventually acquitted, clearly illustrates this. Does it show British spirit

to regard the life of a non-European as a trifle and attach a great value to that of a European?

59. The Swadesamitran, of the 8th February, observes:-

The Delhi outrage.

In a reply to a question by Sir J.D. Rees in the House of Commons as to what steps the Government intend taking to root out the gang of anarchists, to whom the outrage at Delhi was attributed by Lord Hardinge, Mr. Harold Baker stated that it was undesirable to publish the particulars now and that every effort would be made to root out such a gang. We very much regret that such a question should have been asked and such a reply given to it, because, both the question and the answer will create a wrong impression in the minds of the British public that the Delhi outrage was the act of one belonging to a gang of anarchists. The British people will have no idea whether this gang consists only a few persons or of many and whether these anarchists have a secret abode in a particular part of the country or are interspersed with the community as a whole. They may probably think that there are such gangs in several parts of India and that they are receiving the support of the general public. If they do think so, it is an entirely wrong impression. Our opinion is that there is no such organised gang at all in India. The Delhi outrage is only the act of a fanatic and we are surprised at the inability of the police to find out this culprit and bring him to justice.

62. The Dharmaprakasika, of the 20th January, refers to

The Bomb outrage.

the bomb outrage at Delhi and says that

the miscreant who threw the bomb at His Excellency the Viceroy, who is an incarnation of mercy, has done the greatest harm to the country. To whatever nationality he may belong, unless and until he is arrested and punished according to his deserts, the Indians cannot rest satisfied. The paper says that sin can never hide long and is certain that the villain will soon be traced.

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 22ND FEBRUARY 1913.

No. 8 of 1913.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY INDIANS.

II. Home Administrarion.

(X) para (8)

(k) General.

9. The Madras Standard, of the 18th February, observes:--

The Public Services Commission.

"The evidence of the Assam witnesses before the Public Services Commission confirms the idea that some of the witnesses are determined to rake up racial questions. Mr. M.M. Hadow, in his cross-examination, said that he was ready to admit that in his denial of an Indian Civilian's capacity for administrative work, he had 'rather overstated the case'. Lord Islington served him right by pointing out to him that the questions of the Commission should be 'answered with a view to get at the truth' but the fact that many of the witnesses, chiefly Europeans, have been either the recipients of rebukes like this, or had to confess that they overstated the case or committed themselves to statements without any arguments to substantiate them, shows how lightly and carelessly they treat the work of the Commission, and by the way, also the aspirations of the people. With a few honourable exceptions, generalisations about the inferiority of Indians or the racial hatred between classes have been very frequent among these witnesses and many of them generally satisfied them-

Para. No. 8 The real opposition to Simultaneous Examinations is furnished by the prejudices, and the blind and heedless selfishness of powerful vested interests, and the reciprocal loyalty and comradeship of the members of the clan, whose interests are threatened. We are convinced that we can escape confusion of thought and bitterness of heart only by a clear perception of the essentially political implications of the opposition to Simultaneous examinations. We should cultivate the habit of thinking clearly and fearlessly, and refuse to be led aside by irrelequant alarms & excursions.

selves with stating that the claims of Indians for more extensive employment in the Public Service have been finally and satisfactorily settled by the Commission of 1886 and nothing has happened since that time to reconsider the decisions of that body. The whole tenor of this kind of evidence is a sad commentary on the utter want of sympathy that has been characterising the administration of this country in its lower rungs. It is the duty of the Commission to see that a radical change is brought about in this matter...............It is also the duty of the Commission to put down with a high hand every piece of evidence referring to racial inferiority. The new departure of examining the witnesses on these questions, in private, is no doubt an improvement, but we do not see any reason why such evidence should be taken at all from any individuals, or even the local Governments and thus allow them to prejudice the opinions of the Commission in one way or the other".

The proceedings of the Public Service Commission at Assam.

27. In commenting upon the proceedings of the Public Service Commission at Assam, the Swadesamitran, of the 19th February, says:--It is really regrettable that a European witness, Mr. H.M. Hadow, who stated that Indian officials did not inspire respect and wanted in personality, had to admit subsequently that he has overstated the case. This has been the case from the time the Commission began its sittings and in every province one or other European witness has made exaggerated statements like this and modified them subsequently. This is due to nothing but their jealousy of the Indians. It appears the Commission will hereafter hold an inquiry in camera

regarding such statements of the witnesses as are likely to provoke racial hatred, and the people will therefore be in the dark about such an enquiry. We are afraid this will lower the value which the people will attach to the report of the Commission.

The separation of executive and judicial functions.

28. In the course of a leader in English on this subject, the Desabhimani, of the 8th February, says:--"From the point of view of the public at large, the most important portion of the work of the Public Service Commission lies in suggesting means of solving this vexed question............. The evils of the existing system are many and well-known. There is no justification in the eyes of the public at large for continuing it except on the ground of a financial inability put forward by Government to meet the extra charge of maintaining a separate criminal judiciary. But the villager is not inclined to believe in this excuse, as he thinks that, if the Government had the will, they would have a way..............The real reason for not effecting a separation of the judicial and executive branches of the administration is therefore something else. The unwillingness of the Revenue department to abdicate the judicial powers its officers have been so long enjoying is a stumbling block to any improvement in this direction. The present system is defective in many ways. The methods of recruitment to the magisterial service and the way in which judicial work is conducted by Revenue officers are both liable to condemnation. In the first place, the Revenue officers who exercise the judicial functions are the Magistrates of all grades. The inferior classes of

Magistrates, viz., the second and third class Magistrates, are generally taken from the clerical staff of the District Collector. These officers, at their first appointment as Magistrates, have not got the barest judicial training. Nor is any great caution exercised in their selection, seniority being the governing principle in most cases of appointment of the second and third class Magistrates. In their mode of transacting judicial business and in their frame of mind they are almost kith and kin with their subordinate magistrates. One difference, however, is that the quantity of judicial work they do is less and the responsibility they feel is more, and in the case of most I.C.S., and P.C.S., officers, a certain amount of liberal education and liberal thought is brought to bear upon all their work. But the sufferings of the public under the existing conditions are not appreciably reduced by these officers. In these circumstances, one wonders why the Government persist in perpetuating a system which is obviously neither defensible on principle nor popular in practice. Side by side with this, there has been growing a sound system of subordinate civil judiciary. It is very popular and no substantial complaint against it is ever raised. It is not easy to see why a separate criminal judiciary on the lines of the civil judiciary should not be formed. There can be no excuse that proper men for it are wanting. The Indian Universities have produced more than a sufficient number of graduates to meet the existing demands in the service. A large number of them have been crowding the bar, and a training in the bar for three years is considered sufficient for holding the office of District Munsif. So it cannot be said that the post of Magistrates cannot be worthily filled by members of the bar with a training and experience which make them competent Judges of Civil courts. One stale ground often put forward by the

supporters of the present system is that the experience and training of the Collectorate clerks gives them a knowledge of the people and their manners and customs, which are of a peculiar character not to be had by anybody else. This experience is no doubt good and valuable but nobody can say that such experience cannot be secured in other ways or by other persons. We hope that the labours of the Royal Commission will not be spent in vain and will result in some lasting good in the way we have suggested".

VI. Miscellaneous

36. The Swadesamitran, of the 12th February, observes:-

Retired Anglo-Indians.

We understand that one Mr. M.J. Wallace, who retired from the Indian Civil Service in 1872, died recently at the ripe old age of 91. This gentleman has been getting an annual pension of £1,000 for the last forty years and there are a number of other Civil Servants who have been enjoying a handsome pension for a longer or shorter period. It is not that we are jealous of their accumulating large sums of money in this way; but we are sorry to note that not a pie of this money is being spent for the benefit of the Indians. While the Indian Princes and the richer classes among the Indians are making munificent gifts for charitable purposes in connection with the Delhi outrage, it is noteworthy that the Englishmen are keeping aloof in this matter. If an Indian had held the appointment which was held by the late Mr. M.J. Wallace, both his experience and the money earned by him would have benefited the Indians materially.

38. In referring to the notice published under the signature of D. Petrie, Additional Superintendent of Police, Delhi offering a liberal reward for any one who gives any information regarding the culprit who committed the Delhi outrage, the Kalamegham, of the 6th Febryary, sarcastically remarks that the word "liberal" in the notice means that the treasury will be thrown open for such informants to take what they please. In dwelling upon the information given by a Muhammadan at Karachi, implicating certain Brahmans in an attempt to throw a bomb on the Governor of Bombay, the same paper observes:--"Perhaps the British treasury will be thrown open only for these Muhammadans".

The reward notice about the Delhi outrage.

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 1ST MARCH 1913.

No. 9 of 1913.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY INDIANS.

III. Legislation.

The Criminal Conspiracy Bill.

7. The Hindu, of the 27th February, writes:--"From the Statements of Objects and Reasons, and the text of the Criminal Conspiracy Bill, it is difficult to divine the reasons on the strength of which this extension of the penal laws of the country is proposed. The Indian Penal Code has wisely eschewed making conspiracy ipso facto a crime, except where it is for the purpose of waging war or attempting to wage war against the King, whether within or without British India, or for the purpose of overawing by criminal force or the show of criminal force the Government of India or any Local Government.............. The Statement of Objects and Reasons simply states that experience has shown that dangerous conspiracies are entered into in India which have, for their object, aims other than the commission of the offences specified in section 121-A of the Indian Penal Code and that the existing law is inadequate to deal with modern conditions. This vague statement cannot carry conviction into the minds of the public as to the necessity for adding a new species of crime to the Statute book; thereby strengthening the hands of the unscrupulous section of the police in this country, for terrorising the peaceful portion of the population. It is said that the Bill is designed to assimilate the provisions of the Indian penal Code

with the English law. It must be borne in mind, however, that the conditions in India and Great Britain are essentially different. There are radical differences in the system of Government, the administration of the law, the machinery of the courts, the personnel of the police, and the spirit and habits of the people concerned. The force of public opinion, the power of the press, and the system of trial by jury afford a safeguard to the rights of the citizen in England which has no parallel in this country. It may be pointed out on what vague and shadowy evidence and on circumstances susceptible of easy manipulation, this class of offences is held to be proved.................It is needless to add what a wide door the Bill, if it becomes law, would open in this country for false charges, for the fabrication of false evidence, for oppression by the police and for erroneous convictions by an ignorant magistracy".

25. In a leader on the Public Service Commission, the Kistnapatrika, of the 15th February, writes as follows:-

The Public Service Commission.

The European witnesses have stated that the Indians are lacking in those characteristics which are essentially British and which have made them capable administrators. But what are those British characteristics? From the evidence given before the Commission, it can be inferred that the British officers do not mix with the Indians, do not respect their customs and manners, depend for their knowledge of the country on the reports of the spies and Sarishtadars, have no sympathy with the educated and despise the aspirations of the public. If these are the characteristics, what greatness is there in them?

What special characteristics have the English officers been able to manifest which have not been manifested by the Indians? The Indians are generally in the lower grades of public service, and the higher rungs where they could show forth their capacity, are occupied by European officers. But where opportunities have been afforded, Indians, too, have shown their administrative capabilities. Mr. R.C. Dutt was second to no English Officer.
The administrative skill of Sir K.G. Gupta is widely known. British India affords no room for the manifestation of the greatness of the Indian intellect. Even to this day, the administrative machinery of the Native States worked by the Indians. Such great statesmen as Sir K. Seshadri Aiyar cannot flourish under the British Government in these days. Are not Mysore and Baroda administered splendidly? Who can declare that the administrators of these States are incapable? Impartiality and executive skill are as much the characteristics of the Indians as of the English. English education has been spreading for the past 100 years. Western institutions have been established in the country. A love for freedom has sprung up in the minds of the people. It is ridiculous under such circumstances to say that Indians holding high offices are influenced by racial differences. ~~They are~~ There are no instances to show that Indians have ever been guilty of such an offence, whereas many an instance may be cited to prove that where a European is the accused, European officers have shown racial partiality. It must be said that in view of these facts the evidence given by some English gentlemen is most disgraceful. It is also derogatory to the British Government, who have instituted this enquiry with a view to stamp out discontent and to

strengthen British Government by making it more popular. More than seditious speeches, the evidence of these gentlemen is likely to injure the reputation of Government. We ourselves felt it a trying task to translate the evidence of some of the English witnesses, and we do not know to how many it has caused mental anguish.

36. The Hitakarini, of the 9th February, says as follows:-

A Naval Force.

The rumour is afloat that the rulers of Native States in India have made up their minds to supply warships to the British Government. If this is fact, we hope that before doing so they will spread education among their subjects and improve the sanitation of their countries. Although the Indian princes are independent, yet they are in the hands of the Residents. The English do not pay adequate regard to the honours shown by the people of the east. Everybody knows how far they respond to the invitations sent to them by Nabobs and Rajas. Even among the Colonies, there are many which have not rendered any help to the British navy. In the matter of the Colonies adding to the British naval force, there is one thing to be borne in mind. The Colonial subject can get himself enlisted in the army and may rise to the position of a Commander. Only when such opportunities are afforded can these gifts bear fruit.

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24. Regarding the statement of Mr. D. Macpherson, Member of the Board of Revenue, Bengal, before the Public Service Commission, that the English Civilians were afraid to go to Bengal on account of the unrest prevailing there and the hostile criticism of the Indian newspapers, the Swadesamitran, of the 25th February, observes:--Unrest and the criticism of newspapers exist, not only in Bengal, but in other provinces also. Of course the reforms of Lord Morley and the popular regime of Lord Minto and Lord Hardinge have done away with that type of unrest which existed five or six years back. Still it is not possible that there will be no unrest in India. The people have complete confidence in the British Government and believe that India can attain greatness in the future only under this Government. Nevertheless it cannot be said that everything done by the British Government will give satisfaction to the Indians. For example, if the report of the present Public Service Commission does not favour the Indians being given higher appointments, it will cause discontent among them, and it will not be possible for the Indian newspapers to keep quiet on such occasions. As some of the English papers will also view things impartially, they too may criticise the action of the Government in cases like this. The number of Indian newspapers will increase hereafter and they will voice forth the popular discontent ~~bodly~~ boldly and openly. It is stated that there is nothing wrong in Indian ~~newspapers~~ newspapers criticising the actions of Government, if they use moderate language.

Mr. D. Macpherson before the Public Service Commission.

But what is meant by moderate language? Language which appears to be quite moderate in the eyes of an impartial observer may appear to be otherwise to the English officials. It is true some of the Indian newspapers at times go beyond their limits. But this will not continue long. As time advances and the people acquire a larger share in the administration of the country, the Indian newspapers will also come to realise their responsibility and discharge their duty as efficiently as English newspapers. We do not know if even then the English officials will refrain from finding fault with the Indian newspapers. When it is foreigners that are ruling over the country, they will not like the Indian newspapers criticising their actions. Pointing out even ordinary defects is resented by Englishmen. If these would only read the Indian newspapers with an impartial and sympathetic mind, the feeling created in the minds of the Civilians will not be the same as that described by Mr. Macpherson.

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 8TH MARCH 1913.

No. 10 of 1913.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY INDIANS.

III. Legislation.

The Criminal Conspiracy Bill.

5. In a leading article on this subject, the Madras Standard, of the 8th March, writes:--"There is, no doubt, that the Criminal Conspiracy Bill offers scope for misuse of it by the police, especially the Criminal Investigation department. It is another weapon added to their armoury. Apart from such considerations, it is permissible to ask whether it is advisable, at present, to forge afresh a repressive measure ~~of~~ of ~~this~~ this kind. Such considerations ought to have weighed with the Government, and in a matter of this kind the Government ought to have consulted public bodies and prominent men".

Writing on this subject the Hindu, of the 8th March, says:--"It is by no means creditable to the great majority of the non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council that they did not support the amendment proposed by Mr. Surendra Nath Bannerjee, seconded by Mr. Vijaya-raghava Chari, that the consideration of the Criminal Conspiracy Bill should be postponed until the opinions of the High Courts and public bodies in the country are ascertained. The amendment was by no means a revolutionary one, but was a step calculated to afford an opportunity for calm consideration of the measure".

(k) General.

14. The United Church Herald, for March, observes in English--"We are deeply interested in the fact,

A Missionary in a Provincial Legislative Council.

though we are not sure that we are pleased, that the Government of the Province of Behar and Orissa has appointed Dr. Andrew Campbell, a Scottish Missionary, as a Member of the Provincial Legislative Council. We have no doubt that the Government has done wisely in strengthening its legislative body by adding this worthy Missionary to its roll. But we are not sure that it is wise that Missionaries should be identified with the Government of the country in this way. They may do much for the progress of the Missionary cause and the Christian redemption of India. Still we shall not blame any one for this appointment, but shall watch it with very much interest".

III. Legislation.

22. Referring to the Criminal Conspiracy Bill which it is proposed to introduce into the Imperial Legislative

The Criminal Conspiracy Bill.

Council, the Kistnapatrika, of the 1st March, says that it is at a loss to know the reasons which have actuated the Government to add this new repressive measure to the Statute Book. A measure of the kind may exist in England, for there the police are different and the accused are tried by a jury. The newspapers have a voice, so much so that, however rigorous a measure may be, no great injustice can be done to the people. But the Indians, says the paper, are placed under different circumstances. It fears that under the proposed new law, the innocent may be oppressed. The country is peaceful, and so the paper believes that His

Excellency Lord Hardinge, who is generous, who is a lover of the people and who is just, will guard the honour of the people and of the Government by refusing to give his assent to the proposed law.

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 15TH MARCH 1913.

No. 11 of 1913.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY INDIANS.

III. Legislation.

12. The Weekly Chronicle, for the week ending 9th March, writes:--"There is no denying the fact that the Criminal Conspiracy Bill, which was referred to a Select Committee at the meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council on Wednesday last, is viewed with apprehension by a section of the enlightened public, who fear that the subordinate officers of the Police Department may use it even against innocent persons. Measures of repression add materially to the powers of the police and take away something indirectly from the rights of the people. Of course there is always the defence that the loyal and the law-abiding need entertain no fear of their legitimate rights being infringed. But the apprehensions we have referred to are entertained by the loyal and the law-abiding. We are convinced that the Government have introduced the measure with the best and purest of intentions, and every enlightened citizen is only too anxious to co-operate with them in exterminating anarchy and sedition from the land................We are in hopes, however, that in the Select Committee the Bill would be so modified and improved as to bring the really guilty alone under its operation".

The Criminal Conspiracy Bill.

Writing on this subject the Indian Patriot, of the 11th March, says:--"It is a settled fact that we must accept the Criminal Conspiracy Bill. As we have said, there is no room for much reasoning. Something exceptional has happened, and something exceptional has to be done. That, we believe, is the spirit in which many honourable members of the Council have accepted the Bill. Sir Reginald Craddock said that of late conspiracies of the kind sought to be dealt with by the Bill have come into existence, and that it is impossible for Government to disclose all that they know, but that it has the knowledge that they do exist must be taken by the Council on trust. We may, therefore, take it that without adequate reason the Government would not have brought forward a measure like this..............We, therefore, think that the law must be confined to such cases alone as can be shown to be of a very serious character. It must have either reference to the State or must be of such a serious nature that to let off a conspirator would itself be a crime.................We hope a distinction will at least be made between offences of more serious description and offences which may merely have remote consequences of a serious nature............To allow the police or magistracy to make cases of conspiracy where a person is boycotted by society, or where a casteman is shunned by his class may have serious consequences............ We are disappointed that the Select Committee has made no endeavour to limit the application of the law to actual necessity".

15. The Hindu, of the 15th March, has the following:--

Indian character.

"It may be within the recollection of our readers that a lecture was delivered on the spirit of education by Mr. S.V. Ramamurti, B.A., I.C.S., at the Presidency

College Hall on the 13th December last, with the Hon'ble Mr. Lionel Davidson in the chair. In the course of his concluding speech the Chairman made some uncomplimentary remarks regarding the Indian's attitude towards truth and has inconsistency. Mr. Davidson also referred to an alleged observation of the Right Hon'ble Mr. Hobhouse, who was President of the Royal Commission on Decentralization, in the following terms: 'When the last Royal Commission on Decentralization completed their inquiries I noticed Mr. Hobhouse at the first meeting which he attended in England after his return, drew particular attention to this trait in the character of Indian publicists'. ....An Indian gentleman informs us that he wrote to Mr. Hobhouse drawing his attention to the allegation of his having made the statement referred to, and that Mr. Hobhouse has replied to him as follows upon the subject.

> " 'I have no recollection of saying anything on the subject at all and as the meetings of the Royal Commission on Decentralization were private ones on their return to England, there was neither any statement to make nor did I make any statement on the subject'.

"It would be interesting to know what the Hon'ble Mr. Lionel Davidson has to say upon the matter".

III. Legislation.

28. The Sadhvi, of the 11th March, writes:--"...............

The Criminal Conspiracy Bill.

The Sovereign of British India and the Supreme and local Governments being protected by the existing law, we do not feel the strength of the grounds on which an extension of the law for the same species of criminality

is urged. It is said that the Bill is designed to assimilate the provisions of the Indiane Penal Code with the English law. But we do not see how it can be done. There is a world of difference between India and Great Britain in their constitution. One can perceive the radical difference in the system of Government of these two countries. The administration of law in Great Britain, the machinery of her courts, the personnel of her police and the spirit and habits of her people are not the same as in India. We are afraid, therefore, that if this Bill becomes law, it not only serves as an instrument in the hands of the unscrupulous section of the police to oppress the public, but also affords ample room for false charges, false evidence and erroneous convictions by an ignorant magistracy".

Criminal Conspiracy Bill.

Referring to the Conspiracy Bill recently introduced into the Imperial Legislative Council, a leader in the Lokaprakasam, of the 10th March, observes that it will not be favourably received by the general public and, when passed, it will add a powerful new weapon in the armoury of the Criminal Investigation Department. The Bill seems to be contrary to the sentiments recently given expression to by our Gracious Viceroy when he said that he confided his personal safety in the hands of his Indian subjects. The special necessity for the creation of such an offence called "Criminal conspiracy" has not been clearly made out. But one could without difficulty imagine that it owes its origin to the dastardly outrage at Delhi. The present law on the subject is embodied in section 121-A of the Indian Penal Code. It is contended that this provision is not sufficient under the existing conditions and that the law of conspiracy should be modelled on the lines of the English law on the subject. Although there will not be

two opinions on the atrocity of the outrage perpetrated on the Viceroy it is to be doubted whether the number of such events during the last five or ten years has been such as to justify the forging afresh of such a repressive measure. The accepted principle in civilised countries before introducing a new law is to make out a clear case for its necessity. When this Bill becomes law many respectable persons will be liable to be harassed by the C.I.D. officials for the crime of one or two evil-disposed persons in any part of the country at any time. Such a state will indeed be one to be deplored. In England an offence of the kind is tried by a jury of twelve Lords. But in India that will not be the case. The Police will charge and a Magistrate or Judge will try the case. Most of the Honourable Members of Council have supported the Bill; some have suggested certain alterations and two have strongly opposed the Bill.

31. The Swadesamitran, of the 5th March, says:--A quarterly journal called the Round Table, published in England, remarks as follows:--"As the extremists are induced to commit political crimes only on account of the opposition of the nationalist leaders to the Government, it is these leaders that should find out the causes of conspiracies and try to check them. If they do not do so, the Government will have to tell them that if anarchical murders are committed again, all the representative institutions in the country will be abolished". The London Times also comments in the same strain, though it admits that it will not be possible to abolish representative institutions altogether. It says that no new privileges

The wrong notions of Englishmen regarding the Delhi outrage.

should be granted to the people unless their leaders actively co-operate with the Government in rooting out anarchism from this country.

"We regret very much that influential English papers should write like this, and we will say that it is Lord Hardinge that is the cause of a wrong impression being created in the minds of the Englishmen about the stray anarchical acts committed in India. It was he who declared that these acts could not have been committed without the knowledge of the people. If this is true, will it be possible to keep it secret for these two and a half months? If one other man than the culprit, who committed the deed, knew anything of the plot, we think the mystery should have been cleared by this time. The Round Table is wrong in saying, that it is the nationalist leaders who oppose the Government, for Mr. Gokhale, Mr. Dadabhai and others are not nationalist leaders. For aught we know, there are no nationalist leaders in India. It is another mistake to say that the opposition of the popular leaders leads to anarchism. As a matter of fact, no one can say that the speeches in the Legislative Councils and other representative institutions have led to anarchism. There is, therefore, no connection between anarchism and representative institutions.

The London Times wants the people of India to strengthen the public feeling against conspiracies and co-operate with the Government in supressing them. We have also been repeating the same opinion. The people are prepared to divulge any information they may have about such conspiracies. As the police also form part of the people they should also know what little the people may know about them.

The Government will do well to take the public into its confidence now and advise them as to the way in which they should proceed in order to find out the anarchists in the country.

Can Indians be appointed Lieutenant-Governors?

32. In an article under this heading, the Swadesamitran, of the 5th March, writes:- In reply to a question from a member of the Public Service Commission whether he could name any competent Indian to hold the position of a Lieutenant-Governor, His Highness the Aga Khan said that no such Indian's name could ~~suggest~~ suggest itself to him at that moment. According to the Act of Parliament of 1833, Indians can be appointed to any office in the British Empire irrespective of caste, creed or colour, provided they are competent. It follows, therefore, that in the eyes of the law, Indians are eligible to hold any appointment from the Governorship downwards. But the British Government may consider whether it will be advisable to confer such high offices on Indians. Sir Henry Stokes stated before the Public Service Commission of 1886 that Indians may be appointed as Governors. The question whether competent Indians are available or not depends upon the existence of a hope that such high offices will be conferred on Indians. If there is such a hope, competent men will, of themselves, be forthcoming. Are there not men now competent to be members of the Executive Council? In course of time such men will be more easily available. Similarly if the system of appointing Indians as Governors is brought into force, Indians possessing the necessary qualifications will be trained. But it is easier to find competent Indians for

for the post of a Governor than for that of a Lieutenant-Governor, for, while a Lieutenant-Governor has to bear the burden of administration single handed, a Governor is assisted by three members of council. An Indian Governor will, therefore, have the co-operation of his councillors who will make up for his lack of administrative experience. Therefore the question whether a competent Indian is available to hold the office of a Lieutenant-Governor is not at all proper, when there are such able men as the Yuvaraja of Mysore, Mr. Sampat Rao, brother of the Gaekwar of Baroda, the Hon'ble Mr. Sayyid Ali Imam, Sir K.G. Gupta, and Mr. Gokhale. When a far-sighted, bold and able statesman as Lord Morley comes to power, it is not impossible to expect an Indian to be appointed a Lieutenant-Governor.

Bomb-making in Karachi.

36. In expressing its pleasure at the news that the persons arrested at Karachi on a charge of manufacturing bombs have been declared innocent, the Krishi Kalanidhi, of the 1st March, hopes that the Muhammadan who have false information out of greed of money and thereby gave rise to so much hubbub will meet with adequate punishment.

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 22ND MARCH 1913.

No. 12 of 1913.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY INDIANS.

Vernacular Papers.

II. Home Administration.

(k) General.

Can Indians be appointed as Lieutenant-Governors?

18. In an article on this subject, the Lokopakari, for the week ending the 10th March, observes:--When one of the members of the Public Service Commission asked His Highness the Aga Khan whether he could name any competent Indian who could be appointed as a Lieutenant-Governor, he replied that he could not recollect any such individual. We are very much surprised at this reply. It is a well-known fact that Indians are at present discharging their duties efficiently as members of the Executive Council and of the Council of the Secretary of State for India. The opinion formerly held by Englishmen that Indians are not fit to hold such high offices has been shown to be erroneous by recent experience. Similarly it is neither just nor equitable to conclude that there are no competent Indians to fill such high posts as those of the Governor and the Lieutenant-Governor, before trying such able men as Babu Surendranath Banerji, Mr. Mehta and Mr. Gokhale in those high positions. It is nothing but folly on the part of the European officials to suppose that Europeans alone should be appointed to rule India. That the European officials should think that if the Indians are appointed to high offices they will act against the interests of the British Government is also due to their ignorance.

For the Hindus will always like India to be ruled by the British, and will never dream of their country being subdued and governed by foreigners. Such being the fact, it is against true statesmanship that a few European officials should oppose the admission of the Indians to a share in the administration of the country and that the Government should evince a desire to be guided by the counsels of such, officials. All the Ruling Chiefs in India employ Indian Diwans to administer their States and these Diwans are conducting the administration of these States efficiently. The daring assertion that Indians are not competent to discharge the duties of a Lieutenant-Governor is therefore due to an unsound mental condition affected with the melady of racial and religious bias.

The separation of Judicial and Executive functions.

19. In commenting on the Hon'ble Sir R. Craddock's reply in the Imperial Legislative Council to the Hon'ble Mr. Surendranath Bannerji's resolution asking for the allotment of funds to enable Local Governments with the permission of the Supreme Government to try the separation of Judicial and Executive function as an experimental measure in certain selected areas, the Swadesamitran, of the 11th March, remarks:--The question of the separation of these two functions is not a new one. For the last one century, there have been officials who have opined in favour of such a separation. But the opinion of the Europeans has been against it as a rule. They generally think that, if these functions are separated, the power and prestige of the European Magistrates will be diminished and that the Government will incur unnecessary

expenditure, and we fear that the Government officials also share the same view. All the records relating to this subject have been sent to the Secretary of State for India and the matter is under correspondence. On account of this, the Home Member said that the Government was unable to accept Mr. Bannerji's resolution. The motion eventually fell through by a majority of 37 votes in favour of Government. We, however, ~~hoeep-~~ hope that the Government will note that the ~~enit~~ entire Indian public is of one voice in this matter. All the Indians who gave evidence before the Public Service Commission have, with one or two exceptions, stated that the separation of these functions would be greatly beneficial to the people. It should not be considered that this question has been finally settled now. It will be coming for discussion in the Legislative Council again and again.

20. The Mysore Star, of the 17th March, observes:--Although the Hon'ble Mr. Surendra-

The separation of Judicial and Executive powers.

nath Bannerji, in moving his resolution on the subject in the Imperial Legislative Council the other day, made out a strong case for the separation of judicial and executive powers, and although the elected members of the council accorded him their cordial support, nevertheless the Government rejected the resolution on the ground that it was not pointed out by the Honourable Member what expenditure the measure would involve or in what part of the country the ~~experiemm~~ experiment was first to be tried. It is very much to be regretted that the Government, far from introducing this reform on their own initiative, should have thrown out the resolution on a most trivial ground.

27. The Sahifa, of the 15th March, in a leader under the heading "The Kindness of the British Empire towards Mussalmans", extols the British Raj in the following terms:--

The British Raj and its blessings.

"We believe that the British Empire is a guarantee for the peace and tranquility of the world and its existence is quite necessary for the well-being of India. It is a mine of autonomy and a magazine of freedom. Under its shadow every religion and country enjoys freedom, ease and comfort with satisfaction. Had it not been for Britain the rule of Turkey, Persia and Morocco would have already terminated. It has cut the chains of slavery from the feet of the world, and has allowed the Indians to take part in the administration of the country. It has opened the doors for our progress.

"We regarded its flag as the blessing of God and hence have afforded facilities to establish firmly its suzerainty throughout the length and breadth of India. Since we consider the nation and its rule as our own we desire earnestly that the friendship between Mussalmans and Britain may become an indispensible factor for ever, and that it may neither decline nor lessen.

"We know that it is compelled for some reason or other to keep aloof from rendering aid to Turkey just at the present. It has, however, declared that the Mussalmans are right in their exhibition of enthusiasm in the case of Turkish difficulties.

"Lord Hardinge has by his wise policy gained the hearts of every Mussalman, and their earnest desire is that his term may be successful and may be extended".

III. Legislation.

The Criminal Conspiracy Bill.

29. Referring to the Conspiracy Bill recently passed in the Imperial Legislative Council, the Swadesamitran, of the 11th March, observes:--The Hon'ble Mr. Surendranath Banerji brought forward an amendment to this Bill, but it was lost. It is not understood why only two members of the Council voted in favour of this amendment. Mr. Banerji asked that the Bill should be referred to the High Courts and other public bodies and such a practice is not altogether new. The Englishman's explanation of the failure of this amendment is curious. It says that though Mr. Surendranath Banerji is well known to the people as a public man, he is quite new to the Council, and as such the other Honourable Members have very little sympathy for or confidence in him. This may be the view of some Europeans, but there is no reason why the Indians should entertain such an idea. The real reason, to our mind, seems to be otherwise. Sir R. Craddock, in introducing this Bill, asked the members of the Council to support it in view to its being passed as an urgent measure. He astounded them by declaring that the existence of conspiracies in the country is a known fact to the Government and that, unless the Bill was passed immediately, it was impossible to suppress them. When he thus spoke to them of the hurry and anxiety of the Government in the matter, so as to alarm them, all the members thought that they should not embarrass the Government at this juncture and acquiesced in the measure brought forward by the Home Member. As for the Government knowing of the existence of conspiracies, it remains to be seen how far that knowledge

is correct. The sources of information to Government regarding these matters are the police and a few private individuals. Experience has shown us so far that it is not proper for the Government to place its entire confidence in such persons. But the Government may be, in this particular instance, in possession of real facts; and we hope that, as a result of such knowledge, the conspiracies in the land will be utterly annihilated.

The Criminal Conspiracy Bill.

The Desamata, of the 5th March, has a small note on the Criminal Conspiracy Bill, in which it expresses the fear that it gives power to the authorities to annoy innocent men whom real parties to a conspiracy may point out as belonging to it out of malice. It remarks that it is at a loss to know when there will be a limit to these repressive measures and when the Government will rest satisfied.

The Desamata, of the 12th March, comments on the same subject as follows:--India is now in a peaceful state. Excepting a few cases of dacoity in Bengal, there are no signs of unrest anywhere. Under ~~thse~~ these circumstances, there appears to be no necessity for the proposed law. We do not see what harm there is in sending the Bill to the High Courts and public bodies for opinion. It is not right to add the measure to the Indian Statute Book on the ground that a similar measure exists in England. In England, there is the system of trial by jury, whereas in India, the Judge is all in all. There is a gulf of difference between the police here and the police there. Moreover in England, the press is not subject to as many restrictions as in India and the people are free to convene public meetings. A measure of the kind proposed may exist in England, but in India there is always the fear of its being misused by the police.

We hope that the Government will see that the proposed law may not turn out to be a source of annoyance to the innocent.

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 29TH MARCH 1913.

No. 13 of 1913.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY INDIANS.

Racial distinction.

12. In an article under the heading "Pictures from politics" the Indian Patriot, of the 27th March, writes:--"As if to arrest the pride and the joy of the moderate politicians at the very marked change that has come over the relations between the rulers and the ruled, the sad story comes of railway lawlessness from Assam. It shows that racial distinction, for all that Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson may say, does exist and sees arise to damp the hopeful mind. In the eyes of the Assam railway official the Indian who had paid for travelling first class did not deserve to travel that class when a European was anxious to travel. And so the Indian is pulled out. Because he was a member of the Legislative Council of Assam perhaps he got back the difference in fare between the first and the second class. We ask whether the Assam Government is not prepared to hand somebody for this? What is the use of saying that there is no racial prejudice and that all are same in the eyes of the law, when an impertinent railway official has the audacity to go up and wake a distinguished Indian and to ask him to get down and to shift for himself in another and a less convenient compartment because a European passenger has come in. We wonder what the European passenger was doing when the Indian was being pulled out. We sincerely hope that he knew nothing about the affair,

that he was standing smoking his cigar at the other end of the platform expecting to be called by his boy when all was right and he might get in.................
If the Government of the new province of Behar and Orissa could seriously set itself to thoroughly abolish the heart-rending planter rule in certain parts and establish British rule, it would have justified itself. The tale of suffering that comes from there is scandalous. The wonder is that it should be tolerated for even a minute, and that, it being so tolerated, there should be people who speak of British characteristics in the administration. Most touching tales of oppression come from the planter zone in Behar. The Beharee has taken up the subject with a fervour that is a credit to Indian journalism. Accumulated evidence lies imbedded in the columns of the Patrika, and a well-intentioned ruler has only to glance through the newspapers to feel righteous indignation that the pure name of British Government--a watch-word of admiration to all the powers of the world--should be thus defiled to the very face. That complaints are referred back to those against whom they are made, thus exposing the complainant to harassment, and subsequently to failure of justice by a Judge predisposed towards the accused planter, has been often exposed by the Patrika under the well-known 'My dear Konstan' lash..................
Why should not the Government of Sir Charles Bayley appoint a committee of officials and non-officials to enquire into the relations of the ryots and the planters? We are quite sure, having in mind the results of the Horne Committee in our own Presidency, that the results would be most satisfactory, from the popular point of view, and from one end of the new province to the other a sincere people would feel grateful to the Government, if for nothing tangible, at least for the proof that the appointment

of a committee would give, that, after all there is a Government to keep watch and ward over them and that, when they complain, the Government do not resort to the 'my dear Kontsan' method, but do initiate enquiries".

III. Legislation.

15. The Hindu, of the 20th March, observes:--"The

The Criminal Conspiracy Bill.

Criminal Conspiracy Bill was passed into law at the sitting of the Imperial Legislative Council which extended till 7-20 p.m. yesterday in order to enable it to be got through. It is an important and far-reaching extension of the criminal law hitherto in force in this country. It was, however, treated as an emergency measure and it has taken its place in the Statute Book with as much celerity as if it were an administration measure of every-day occurrence......... Apart from the merits of the new legislation, the statement of facts regarding its birth, speaks volumes for the manner in which the people's voice is heard in this country in a matter closely affecting their welfare. As the matter stands, neither the judiciary in the country nor the exponents of public opinion were held of any account as regards the Criminal Conspiracy Bill. ....The Indian public, by the expressions of opinion so far elicited, wholly remain unconvinced as to the necessity for the new law, as to its adaptability to Indian conditions and as to the likelihood of its being worked without causing serious harm to innocent citizens in their lawful occupation in life".

Writing on this subject the United India and Native States, for the week ending 22nd March, says:--"We are unable to join in the outcry of some of our contemporaries against the Criminal Conspiracy Bill which is designed to put down serious crimes like the one which shocked the whole of India. Some of our contemporaries have written as though a curtailment of the popular liberties was the object in view. We think that nothing can be farther from the truth than an assumption of this kind, for we take it that no honest man need fear the new enactment. It is only the few homicidal maniacs who startle the world by their shocking crimes and those who, while keeping themselves carefully in the back ground, incite others to pursue a career of crime that will have to dread the provisions of the new law".

The Wednesday Review, for the week ending 26th March, observes:--"The Government cannot very well be accused of passing the Criminal Conspiracy Bill into law, in the teeth of non-official opposition. They had practically the support of their non-official colleagues except two...........The main reason which the Government gave for the introduction of the measure was that they had knowledge of the existence of conspiracies which the law as it existed could not reach and it was imperative that those who conspired against their authority should be brought to book. No sane critic would question the wisdom of the Government in strengthening their position against conspirators who might have committed an overt act or not. The existence of conspiracies directed against the authority of the Government is a sufficiently big evil to grapple with and root out. If the Government are convinced of the existence of conspiracies which ought to be brought within the reach of the law, we have no right to doubt the reliability of the sources

of their information............We can only hope that the Government will see to it that the law is not abused even to the slightest extent and the innocent do not suffer with the guilty".

III. Legislation.

41. The Lokopakari, for the week ending the 24th March, wonders at the suddenness with which the Conspiracy Bill was introduced into the Imperial Legislation Council and passed into law without heeding the objections raised against it by the popular representatives in the Council. It thinks that though the public will not be hostile to Government with regard to the measures which are taken to put down conspiracies, the attitude of the authorities in ignoring public opinion in such matters is apt to create discontent in the public mind. There seems to be no necessity, says this paper, for introducing this measure so suddenly. The precipitancy with which the Government acts at times in certain matters is, according to this paper, not consistent with political justice.

The Criminal Conspiracy Bill.

Writing on this subject the Hindu Nesan, of the 24th March, observes that it would have been much satisfactory if the Government had allowed sufficient time for the public to express their view, before passing this Bill so suddenly.

In commenting on the Criminal Conspiracy Bill, the Andhraprakasika, of the 22nd March, fears that the Bill affords large scope for the unscrupulous section of the police and for certain Judges to bring innocent persons into trouble. In the present peaceful state of the country, such a measure is unnecessary. It was hurriedly passed into law and sufficient time was not

The Criminal Conspiracy Bill.

afforded for a consideration of the opinion of the public or of their leaders. The paper is at a loss to know how far the Government are justified in showing such indifference especially when they were passing a measure affecting the people most seriously. Nobody ever thought, it says, that such a hard measure would be passed in such a hurry in the time of His Excellency Lord Hardinge.

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 5TH APRIL 1913.

No. 14 of 1913.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY INDIANS.

II. Home Administration.

(k) General.

Competition versus nomination.

8. In commenting on the evidence of Mr. Mazhural Haque, before the Public Services Commission, in which he upholds the system of competitive examinations, the ✗ South Indian Mail, for the week ending 31st March, says:--"First we shall consider the advisability of appointing to higher offices men nominated by Government from the highest families. We confess, we do not see eye to eye with Government, as to the advantages of this system. The only argument, we have thus far heard, in support of the action is that it reduces corruption, but, if that is the real advantage claimed, there is a stronger reason in appointing such nominees to the smallest offices, for, it is well known that corruption prevails more in the lowest rungs of the official ladder than in the higher. Thus, to some extent, we see the advantages of appointing village munsifs from the oldest and wealthiest families in the village. But we fail to see the advantages of appointing a scion of a noble family either as an Assistant Superintendent of Police or as a Deputy Collector. Again it is quite another question if, even the advantage of minimising corruption cannot be secured at too high a cost.

"We strongly feel that appointments to executive posts should always be made on the ground of capacity. Nowhere will an attempt at patronage be so dangerous as in executive posts. None can easily see how a youth, because he is highly born or is wealthy, can have executive capacity. Even if we grant that the new system of recruitment by nomination minimises corruption we fear the danger remains that the Government would then be transforming themselves entirely from a governing agency into a corruption-curing agency ignoring altogether their functions in the former line.............To us it seems that intellect should be the first test for admission to public offices if efficiency and not social reform is what is aimed at by Government. We do not say that physical and moral qualifications are to be ignored. But intellectual eminence should be the chief ground for selection. In a discussion which arose in the Madras Legislative Council over a year ago the Honourable Member on behalf of Government said that intellectual competition always resulted in giving the Government one class of officials, viz., Brahmins, and that the Government could not, therefore, adopt the test. The Government cannot deny that the officials supplied by that system of recruitment are doing excellent work and are in no way behind the Indian Civil Servants recruited in England..............The Government might, if it likes, become a corruption-curing, society-reforming or appointment-providing agency on charitable principles but it is likely, at the same time, to cease to be what it orginally was meant for, viz., a strong governing agency if executive incapacity is tolerated by it".

III. Legislation.

11. In an article under the heading "The political mistake of the Conspiracy Bill" the Indian Patriot

The Criminal Conspiracy Bill.

of the 1st April, observes:--"Because there were many to express their anxiety, their sorrow and shame, by bending their head to the axe of the Conspiracy Bill, India does admire them; because there were two to suppress their shame and sorrow and express their concern for the fair name of the country, its threshold darkened by a retrograde measure, there is admiration for them too...............There is still the thought lurking that the Conspiracy Bill was an inevitable result of the invisible dacoit and the bomb-thrower; but like the shadow pursuing light, the thought still comes that the Conspiracy Bill might not have been, that its edges might have been blunted lest innocence go near it and be cut up. The conspiracy Bill drew forth from Mr. Vijayaraghavachari all his reserve force in knowledge and thought, so that India finds in him to-day a forcible exponent of its thought...........Mr. Vijayaraghavachari whipped the people from their benumbing sadness, their sad feeling of inevitability over the Conspiracy Bill, the false taint of English analogy given to it. He and Mr. Bannerjee first made Indian thought and led it. The Government to which Mr. Montagu attributes courage and singleness of purpose cannot long sit idle after proclaiming that the Indian Conspiracy Law is only in keeping with the English Conspiracy Law, and at the same time compelled to be convinced that it is not so. Government is pledged to pursue the analogy further, unless it has such profound

disregard for public opinion which charges them with an unbecoming attempt to mislead India..............What the Government wanted to rush through as an innocent measure, a mere ornamental law merely to flourish its prestige in the face of the lawless element and at the same time elevate India to the level of Liberal England, Mr. Vijayaraghavachari has shown, and he alone, as being pregnant with danger...........It is sad to contemplate that the Delhi session that began with the ringing words of Lord Hardinge, describing his confidence and faith in India, should end by the passing of a Conspiracy Law which evoked opposition, and opposition so convincingly and thoroughly led, that the law has almost taken rank with the worst of retrograde measures. We can understand the Government of Lord Hardinge bringing the Bill, without grasping the enormity of the step taken or the issues involved; but surely we cannot understand the Government persisting in a measure so ably opposed and which has almost served as a whip to excitable minds to commit self-excitement. As soon as Government saw the gathering clouds it ought to have made for the nearest port and dropped anchor".

VI. Miscellaneous.

42. The Swadesamitran, of the 1st April, observes:--The adoption, by the All India Muslim League, of the ideal of the Congress and its public declaration that the advancement of the Muhammadans should culminate in the establishment of swaraj for India, have incensed several of our Anglo-Indian contemporaries. The Madras Mail thinks that though the Muhammadans have for the present thought fit to join the Hindus, the Muhammadan

The All India Muslim League and Swaraj.

leaders should bear in mind that their co-religionists, who form the minority of the Indians, will, in the long run, find it impossible to separate themselves from the Hindus who are in the majority. The Englishman harps in the same strain and has fabricated a story that His Highness the Aga Khan, the Right Hon'ble Amir Ali and other leading Muhammadans have severed their connection with the league. That this story is a pure myth has been proved by a telegram received from Lucknow. His Highness the Aga Khan was present at a meeting of the league held on the 31st December last at Lucknow, in which a resolution was passed to the effect that swaraj was the goal of Muhammadan advancement, and the Right Hon'ble Amir Ali also signified his acquiescence in this view when a similar resolution was adopted by the All India Muslim Committee in London. It is possible that a few aged Muhammadans, who share the views of the late Sir Syed Ahmed, are opposed to the objects of the Congress simply because they are the objects of the Congress. But they are no more the persons who guide the aims and aspirations of the Indian Muhammadans, as many intelligent members of that community, who have received their education in the Aligarh College and English Universities, have now come to the fore as its leaders. We have frequently expressed our belief that the Muhammadans, by receiving higher education, will cease to oppose the interests of the Hindus. What other feeling except that of friendship can the cultured Muhammadans entertain towards their Hindu fellow-countrymen? Moreover several Muhammadans have now risen to high positions in the public service and it is their duty in their official capacity to serve and promote the interests of the Hindus. It is on

account of this that the Hindus rejoice when any Muhammadan is appointed to a high post. There are other countries like India in which diverse communities live side by side as the Hindus and Muhammadans, and do they not live in perfect amity?

Though the Anglo-Indian journals may do their best to set one community against another, we are glad that both the Hindus and Muhammadans feel that their common welfare is dependent on the Union of the two communities. The responsible officers of the Government of India are intent upon promoting friendly feelings between these two communities, while no less a personage than His Majesty the King-Emperor expressed as his parting wish, when he left the shores of India, that the Indians should live in harmony, irrespective of racial differences. Further, Lord Hardinge, Lord Carmichael, Lord Sydenham, Lord Pentland and Sir James Meston are all disposed favourably towards the promotion of union among the different communities as leading the way to national well-being. Very few are the Indians who do not rejoice at this new development of nationality.

The Hindus and the Muhammadans.

43. The Andhraprakasika, of the 2nd April, regrets to say that in the recent meeting of the Madras Legislative Council, a certain Muhammadan member asked a question by which he suggests to Government that a certain number of seats should be set apart for Muhammadans under the system of nomination, so that in the event of keen competition between Hindus and Mussalmans in the elections, the latter may not suffer. When the leaders themselves are influenced by such racial animosity, the

time is surely distant, says the paper, when the masses will not be caught in its meshes and cause serious rioting. The paper fears that if the Muhammadans do not give up the idea that they are different from the Hindus, the contagion will spread to the latter also to the detriment of both.

A Hindu-Muhammadan riot at Kankanhalli (Mysore)

45. The Mysore Star, of the 31st March, after narrating the incidents of the Hindu-Muhammadan riot that occurred in Kankanhalli (Mysore) during the Holi festival, notes with regret that although the Hindus are freely taking part in the Muharram festivities, the Muhammadans take great offence if the Hindus accidentally pour some coloured water on them or disguise themselves as tigers, etc., in the course of the celebrations of any Hindu festivals, and remarks that so long as the Muhammadans act in this way and do not show any toleration towards their Hindu brethren, their can be no unity between the two classes.

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 12TH APRIL 1913.

No. 15 of 1913.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY INDIANS.

III. Legislation.

The Criminal Conspiracy Bill.

11. In commenting on this measure, the Andhra, for the week ending 4th April, writes:--"No doubt special occasions require enactment of spedial laws and the occasion of Delhi outrage led to the passing of the Criminal Conspiracy Bill...................The non-official members did not object to the enactment of such a measure and it would not be graceful to oppose it at this juncture. But the feeling in the country is against the comprehensive scope of the Bill. The ~~farm~~ framers of the Bill ought to have restricted its scope of offences against State, for the prevention of which this Bill has arisen............. The moving of the Bill, the reference to the select committee, the discussion of the Bill as framed by the select committee and passing of the Bill into law have all been rushed through in two weeks' time. The law extends to social boycott of a person who infringes the social code or changes his religion and deals with trade combinations. We do not oppose the interference of Government in private matters, but we contend that constituted as India is, the law may work heavily on the people, without sifficient safeguards. We respect the feelings of the Government on this occasion, but we regret

that the earnestness to deal effectively with anarchism has led to the swift enactment of such a comprehensive law affecting all phases of Indian life. We earnestly hope that the law will be sparingly used and will not affect the law-abiding population in India".

14. In commenting on the recent bomb outrages in Bengal, the Cochin Argus, of the 5th April, says:-

Bomb outrages in Bengal

"It is only too apparent that Bengal is again given a prey to political crime, anarchical guilt and the diabolical diversions of the bomb-thrower.............. We do not know what the leaders of the people in Bengal have to say regarding all this recrudescence of grave lawlessness, but, doubtless, they will as usual express horrow and indignation and insist on anarchy and sedition being sternly rooted out of the country. Doubtless, they will also as usual be the first to protest in the event of the authorities adopting necessary repressive measures. Even so reasonable a measure as the Conspiracy Bill, as is known, has been subjected to no end of fierce denunciation. This sort of inconsistency is not at all calculated to discourage polittical crime, whereas it is an incentive, for when the political criminal, who is nothing if not cunning, feels that, from his neighbours and his countrymen, all the opposition he need fear is vapid talk which never translates itself into action, he cannot but feel emboldened to pursue his nefarious enterprises...........The chief sufferer from this malignant growth is India herself, and the sooner her people realise this and work actively and practically to destroy the noxious thing, the better will it be for them and their children. They are never tired of protesting that

anarchy is a foreign importation and that they very thought of it is abhorrent to the Indian mind, but it is not comprehensible why they denounce every effort made by the Government to unearth and destroy this most dangerous of all exotics".

15. In a leader on this subject, the Muhammadan, of the 7th April, writes:--"The All India Moslem League has given expression to the best Moslem thought on the hopes and aspirations which dominate the minds of the educated and thoughtful men of to-day. The Hon'ble Mr. Shafi, the President of the last Session of the League, spoke in no uncertain tone, of the needs and hopes of our people at the present hour. He urged the necessity and importance of Hindu-Moslem entente. He called for the co-operation of the different communities that inhabit this vast continent, in the uphill work of bettering our political and national status. Whatever be the effects and the vicissitudes of the war in the Balkans--the Misfortunes of Turkey have contributed in no small degree to the union of the Hindu and the Moslem. Situated as we are, we, the Hindus and the Moslems, should rise or fall together. In the race of progress we should advance, pace to pace, hand in hand, with every community for the realisation of our cherished hopes and ideals.....................Again, with Mr. Shafi, we base our whole case for self-government, on the fact that Islam taught the faithful principles of self-government centuries ago. We thank the British Government for having brought about conditions and circumstances which bring us, the Moslems, back to our time-honoured ideals and institutions. Along with other races and communities in the east, the Moslems have

Moslems and self-government.

inherited traditions of civic rights. The new India that is to be--in a large measure the creation of the genius of British statesmanship--will have the training and education in the art of self-government on modern lines added to ancient right...........And yet the talk is loud that the Turk and the Persian made an attempt at self-government and failed. And what shall we say of the perversity and the malice of the talk in view of the facts known to history and to all the world? Islam, has won to civilization a large fraction of mankind from barbarism in the past. A large part of Europe, Asia, Africa, which had come under the light and air of Islam stand to this day to prove the illuminating and humanising spirit of Islam. Human nature is so organised that Freedom should be the last word to be inscribed on the starry scroll of human thought and endeavour. Freedom's battle might be baffled oft--it shall be won--at last--far off--at last".

(K) General.

The Public Services Commission and the English merchants.

27. In commenting on the views of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, communicated to the Public Services Commission, strongly emphasizing the opinions expressed by the English officials in their evidence before that body, the Swadesamitran, of the 3rd April, observes:--Some of the English merchants have already indulged in the threat that, if the Indians are appointed to high offices, the Europeans would lose their confidence in the Government of India, that English and other foreign capital would cease to flow as freely as it does now and that, in consequence, the Indian industries would cease to flourish.

As the words of the English merchants in India are likely to prevail with the British Government, we are afraid as to what that Government may do when yielding to the influence of the European traders and officials when they persistently express their opinions against the Indians. We shrink from stating what disastrous consequences may follow if the Government should yield to the pressure of the Europeans and set at nought the unanimous opinion of all the communities in India.

Continuing this subject in another article, the same paper remarks:--The arguments urged by the European merchants against the Indians are quite untenable. The Bengal merchants say that the Indian administration is slow and inefficient. These merchants will, however, reverse their statement if the Government should go on spending its revenue on railways and other works so as to benefit them and the merchants in England. It is stated that the Indians have not advanced in trade. But what is the cause of this? In Bombay the trade is largely in the hands of the Indians and so they employ their own men as their Assistants in business, whereas in Bengal, where the Englishmen rule the market to a large extent they admit only Englishmen in their business. Though such employment involves the payment of higher salaries and may bring loss to the English merchants, they do so in order to encourage their own countrymen. It is also true that Indians have not sufficient training in trade. As racial prejudice and the paucity of Indians trained in trade are thus made to operate against the employment of Indians in preference to Englishmen, it is sheer injustice to refuse to employ the Indians merely because they have not been already so employed. What happens in the case of Government appointments is exactly similar

to this. Though it is the duty of the Government to give the necessary training to the Indians, this is not done, and the Government refrains from employing them on the gfound that there are no trained Indians. How is the Government justified in withholding its appointments from the Indians on this ground and keeping them down always in the lower rungs of the service? It is India's misfortune that at several periods in her history many foreign nations had come to live in the midst of her people and had, by acquiring influence in her Government, stood in the way of their advancement. At the present day the Europeans are crowding in India and by their influence with the Government, they are obstructing the progress of the Indians in order to promote their own interests.

Sir James Meston on the Public Service.

28. In commenting on Sir James Meston's evidence before the Public Services Commission, the Swadesamitran of the 7th April, observes:--The opinions expressed by Sir James Meston before the Public Services Commission have given us great disappointment. He admitted at the beginning of his evidence that it is the duty of the British Government to support the aspirations of the Indians, but spoke in a narrow-minded manner when making practical suggestions. He is against simultaneous examinations, as, in that case, the Indians who enter the Civil Service would not be bound by the authority of the rulers and would swamp the service. He therefore suggests three courses of recruitment, of which the first is the retention of the present system whereby the Indians who are successful in the competitive examination held in England enter the Civil Service. The second course is the one by which the members of the Provincial Service are promoted to the

listed appointments, while as a third course which will be confined to the Provinces, Sir James Meston suggests the recruitment of picked men from amongst the successful candidates in an examination to be held exclusively in India. These suggestions will not at all give satisfaction to the Indians, as they are utterly incompatible with their demand for simultaneous examination on the ground that the number of Indians successful in the competitive examination held in England entering the Indian Civil Service is extremely small. The third course suggested by Sir James Meston practically amounts to opening another Provincial Service to the Indians. The Provincial Service has been described as an "Old service" by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, and this opinion is shared by all the Indians. The officials of this service hold an inferior position in regard to salary, status and honour. What, then, is the use of creating another service like that? It will, on the other hand, be sufficient, if the number of listed appointments under the present system is increased. As Lord Ronaldshay remarked the evidence of Sir James Meston makes the present system more complicated and is not beneficial to the Indians. His opinions have, on the whole, produced a great disappointment to those who consider him to be one of the best friends of India.

The Bombay Government on the Civil Service appointments.

29. Referring to the views of the Bombay Government on the Indian Services, communicated to the Public Services Commission, the Swadesamitran, of the 8th April, remarks:- "The Bombay Government does not approve of simultaneous examinations, but proposes, for the recruitment of the Indians to the higher offices in the

service, the institution of a certain number of scholarships for their education in England. This suggestion is preferable to that of Sir James Meston, inasmuch as those who pass the examination under this system of scholarships will be on a par with the other English Civilians in regard to their status, salary and other things. It is, however, not certain that all those who receive scholarships will come out successful. What does it avail, if, for instance, 25 scholarships are granted every year and only ten of the recipients attain success? On what terms will the Government grant these scholarships? Will they be granted to passed candidates? Or will the Government of India grant them to a certain number of selected candidates on the recommendation of the local Governments?

This proposal of the Bombay Government will never give satisfaction to the Indians whose aspiration to attain equality with the Englishmen is not realised and who are, in consequence, seething under discontent by having to remain in the lower grades of the service. The Bombay Government argues that simultaneous examinations will prejudically affect the Provincial Service. What is the harm if it is so affected? Is any permanent rule laid down that only one-sixth of the number of listed posts should be open to the Indians and that the remaining five-sixths should go to the Englishmen? Such a differentiation, the Indians regret, is opposed to the Parliamentary Act of 1833 and ~~the~~ to the Queen's Proclamation of 1858. How long will the Indians remain contented with occypying a position of subordination to the Englishmen, without being treated as their equals? They have been incessantly

urging that it is necessary for the maintenance of their honour and self-respect that they should be placed on a footing of equality with the Englishmen in the bestowal of the Civil Service appointments. If the Indians are kept aloof, without being admitted to the higher grades of the service in the Government of their own country, how will the world regard them?.

The Public Services Commission.

30. Referring to the evidence given before the Public Services Commission, the Sadhvi, of the 8th April, remarks:--The majority of the European witnesses are of opinion that more than three-feufourths of the high appointments should be held by the Europeans, while most of the Indian witnesses advocate the holding of simultaneous examinations and the appointment of Indians to at least one-third of such posts. As these demands are not unjust, the Government will do well to recognise these claims lest the people lose confidence in the impartiality of the British rule. It is of primary importance that the officials should be men of ability and integrity, no matter what their nationality is. As a knowledge of the people of this country and its vernaculars is necessary for carrying on the administration efficiently, the Civil Service examination should be held in India and India alone, and even Europeans should be made to undergo the same in India. The successful candidates should then be deputed to Europe and America to study the systems of the administration in vogue in those countries.

III. Legislation.

The Criminal Conspiracy Bill.

38. The Desabhimani, of the 3rd April, says that the Criminal Conspiracy was passed into l[illegible] teeth of keen opposition from the public in so sho[illegible] a time as two weeks, although the Elementary educ[illegible]

of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale which had the support of the public was rejected by the Imperial Legislative Council. It remarks that there can be no objection to the new Act being used in the case of political offences, and believes that under colour of it, the religious customs of the people may not be interfered with.

39. The Mysore Star, of the 7th April, referring to the recently passed Criminal Conspiracy Act, says:--

The Criminal Conspiracy Act.

This enactment was brought into force within two weeks from its introduction into the Council, without giving the people opportunities to express their opinion and in spite of the protests of some of the elected members. Although the object of the Government in framing this law is to root out conspiracies to commit any crime, it is feared that it will be a weapon in the hands of the police to molest innocent persons. That a necessity should have arisen to take this extreme step is very deplorable. It is alleged that if the people had combined together to put down anarchism and given information against the bomb-throwers, such a measure would not have been passed. But it must be understood that these miscreants carry out their nefarious schemes very secretly and it is therefore as difficult for the general public to detect such evil-minded persons as it is for the Government.

44. The Swadeshabhimani, of the 4th April, speaks highly of the speech recently delivered at Gorakhpur by Sir James Meston, Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces, exhorting the Hindus and the Mussalmans to set aside their petty differences, jealousies and religious prejudices and to entertain brotherly feelings towards each other as of old, and says:--India is not the mother country

The Hindus and the Mussalmans.

of the Hindus alone. The Mussalmans have as much claim to be called Indians. Both of these communities are equally concerned in the welfare of India; and unless they unite together and work for the common good, neither of them will prosper.

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